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## SOME EARLY ITALIAN PICTURES IN THE JARVES COLLECTION OF THE YALE SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS AT NEW HAVEN.

[PLATES VI-XII.]

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The main object of the following notes is to call the attention of specialists to several rare examples of early Italian painting in the Jarves collection at New Haven, which have not as yet been subjected to close critical analysis, and to show the relative importance of the collection and the representative quality of its more important examples.<sup>1</sup> The notes are written in a spirit of inquiry and with no wish to discredit the judgments of previous students, least of all those of Mr. James Jackson Jarves, to whose taste and enterprise we owe the collection, which through the earnest and far-seeing efforts of Professor John F. Weir was procured for Yale University, where it is permanently and worthily housed and conserved.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the collection, which was begun by Mr. Jarves about thirty-seven years ago and continued through a considerable period, is given in the careful and interesting manual published by Yale College in 1868, compiled by Mr. Russell Sturgis, who supplies an introduction and biographical notices, with

<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to Professor Weir for permission to photograph a few of the pictures.

measurements, and, in most cases, quite full descriptions of the pictures.<sup>2</sup>

The catalogue contains 119 numbers, of which 115 designate pictures attributed to Italian masters. One Flemish Madonna (No. 121), a "Mater Dolorosa" of the school of Bologna, and several copies of good quality have been, I believe, the only additions to the collection. A few pictures originally belonging to Mr. Jarves are now loaned to the Boston Museum of the Fine Arts by his executors.<sup>3</sup> I shall review the collection according to schools, but not always in chronological order.

**PRE-GIOTTESQUE PICTURES.**—The first ten numbers of the catalogue designate pictures assigned to unknown painters of the XI, XII and XIII centuries. With the exception of No. 10, a feeble Madonna and Child of later Byzantine derivation, and No. 5, which is considered below as probably of the school of Orcagna, all these are genuine, but in no case significant, specimens of pre-Giottesque art.

The small panel of St. George killing the dragon (No. 6), in

<sup>2</sup> The catalogue contains also prefatory remarks by Mr. Jarves and brief comments in the form of letters from Rio, Eastlake, Messrs. T. A. Trollope and C. C. Black of London, Signor Bucci of Florence, and Mr. Louis Thies, extracted in condensed form from the catalogue of 1860, compiled for the first exhibition of the collection, which was held in the Derby Gallery, 625 Broadway, New York. This catalogue contained 143 numbers, of which some belonged to pictures which are not included in the present collection. A catalogue was prepared in 1863 for the exhibition of the pictures at the Historical Society's Building in New York, and contained 134 numbers. I may also refer the reader to Mr. Jarves's "Art Studies," in which a large number of the New Haven pictures are reproduced in outline engraving. (Art Studies. The "Old Masters" of Italy: Painting. Copperplate Illustrations. By James Jackson Jarves. N. Y., Derby and Jackson, 1861. London, Sampson, Low, Son & Co., 47 Ludgate Hill.) The following numbers from the present catalogue (*Manual of the Jarves Collection of Early Italian Pictures deposited in the Gallery of the Yale School of the Fine Arts, etc.* By RUSSELL STURGIS, Jr. New Haven: Published by Yale College, 1868) are engraved in the "Art Studies": Nos. 5, 6, 7 (detail), 9, 11, 12, 13 (detail), 14 (detail), 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23 (detail), 24 (detail), 25, 26, 32, 35, 39, 42, 49 (detail), 50, 51, 60, 63 (detail), 64, 67, 68, 72, 74, 80, 81 (head), 86, 89, 94, 97 and 114; also a Madonna, etc., with donor, ascribed to D. Ghirlandajo, an Annunciation, ascribed to Lorenzo di Credi, and a "Holy Family," ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, which are not in the present collection. At the time of the purchase of the pictures for Yale University (about 1870) there was considerable discussion of the collection in the periodical press.

<sup>3</sup> No. 18, "Timoteo della Vite," Madonna and Saints, attributed by Dr. Bode to Pacchiarotto; No. 19, "Tibaldo di Pellegrino;" No. 20, "School of Raphael," and also Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16 and 21.

dull and dry tones and with slightly gold-shot draperies, though perfunctory and feeble, is at least distinctly characteristic of Byzantine technique, of which a very small divided triptych of five compositions (Nos. 7, 8, 9) is a more interesting although still insignificant example. The "Miraculous Apparition of Saints Mercurius and Katherine" (No. 9) is perhaps the best preserved portion of it. The feeling for motion, the restlessness of the draperies, the long proportions of the figures and the unformulated treatment of the landscape, offer distinctive notes of an almost miniature-like style, which should render the discovery of its period and derivation easy for the expert in this field. The "Transfiguration" illustrates that almost finically dainty and symmetrical arrangement which is conserved by Duccio (National Gallery, No. 1330), and which survived the many changes in Italian painting down even to the serious and too little appreciated Savoldo (Uffizi, No. 645). The other unascrbed pre-Giottesque pictures in New Haven, though of some iconographical interest, have little quality as art; they are mainly of debased XIII century work, the worst defects and mannerisms of which are manifest in the first example in the gallery to which a definite authorship is assigned, a "Crucifix" ascribed to Giunta (No. 11), resembling a panel of the Florentine Academy given to Bonaventura Berlinghieri (No. 101, Catalogue of 1893).

A large oblong (No. 12) of seven compositions might be classed in the same category with the above, if it were worth while to dispute its attribution to Margaritone of Arezzo. Much more interesting is a "Madonna and Child" between SS. John the Baptist and James and SS. Peter and Francis of Assisi (No. 13), seemingly much repainted, and hung so high as to preclude close examination. It is of XIII century art and not characteristic of Cimabue, to whom it is ascribed. The dull "playing card" ornamentation of the Madonna's throne recalls rather Margaritone and his tribe than the more gifted Florentine. The interesting types of the figures are of quite other and seemingly an earlier tradition.

A small panel of two compositions, the "Crucifixion" and the "Madonna and Child" (No. 14), is incorrectly ascribed to Duccio, though it is related to Duccio in style, and is probably by a

contemporary. There is good color quality in single tones and considerable naturalness and feeling in the Madonna; but the awkward angels, the exaggerated high lights and the general weakness of the execution, refute the catalogue ascription. There are several small panels of a similar style in the "Sala del Taddeo Bartoli" in the gallery of Perugia (Catalogue 1887, Nos. 13 and 16). There are other interesting minor examples of the *milieu* of Duccio, some of very high art quality, both in Sienna and Perugia. In the Bryan collection at the New York Historical Society a small Crucifixion attributed to Buffalmacco (No. 189), will introduce the American student to a technique and a composition so close to Duccio's as to be quite representative of the school in its minor examples. It is probably by an immediate predecessor, to judge by the comparative lack of refinement in the treatment of the nude. The grouping is, in one passage, that of the fainting Virgin, quite identical with that of Duccio in the Crucifixion of his great Sienna altar-piece.

**GIOTTESQUE PICTURES.**—It is evident to the lover of XIV century art, on entering the Jarves collection, that whatever be the attributions given to its "Giottesque" panels, there are a number which embody the characteristic qualities of Florentine Gothic panel-painting. My conclusions as to their authorship are in many cases destructive of the gallery ascriptions, though I have seldom any better ones to offer.

There are twenty examples of so-called Giottesque painting in the Jarves collection. Of these, No. 16 is too much repainted to be characteristic, even if it be an original, and No. 21 is probably spurious. The others are genuine, but a few are too insignificant to call for comment.

To Giotto himself is attributed an important "Entombment" (No. 17), which is unfortunately a complete ruin. It does not rise to the grandly passionate grief of the Arena masterpiece, but has been an important example of a serious and early follower. The piece cannot be analyzed technically in its present condition. Another panel attributed to Giotto in New Haven is a small and well-preserved "Crucifixion," probably the gable of an altar-piece (No. 18, hung very high). The dry handling and the comparative lack of breadth in the draperies indicate conclusively a later authorship.



Earlier than either of the above, and possibly by Taddeo Gaddi, to whom it is attributed, is a small "Vision of St. Dominic" (No. 20), quite representative of the vigor and directness of the better Giotteschi. It is almost too cold in coloring for either Giotto or Taddeo Gaddi, but the draperies and the action are first-rate. In the early tradition again, and by some one working under Giotto's direct influence, is a small tabernacle picture of the Madonna and Child, attended by four saints, of charming quality, attributed to Giotto (No. 31). A small "Trinity," attributed to Puccio Capanna, is of the same general character, but is quite ruined (No. 27).

An important "Christ and the Virgin Enthroned" (No. 5), catalogued as of the beginning of the XIII century, is an interesting example, I believe, of an Orcagnesque decadence. The types, the treatment of the draperies, and the redundancy of ornamental accessories, recall certain panels attributed to Orcagna, such as the St. Zenobius of the Florence Duomo and others; but here all the greatness of Orcagna is lost in the attempted realization of a weakly coloristic ideal. It is probably of the school of Orcagna, and for all its lack of early vigor, is a picture of great interest.<sup>4</sup>

There are two sets of panels of saints in the Jarves collection ascribed to Orcagna himself. Of these the "St. John the Baptist" and the "St. Peter" (Nos. 25 and 26), are darkened and badly hung, and while strong, sturdy and serious enough for a more direct Orcagnesque derivation than No. 5, above mentioned, are rather too coarse for Andrea's own hand. Nos. 23 and 24, "St. Augustine and St. Lucia," and "St. Dominic and St. Agnes," respectively, are weaker, but, being in better preservation, are perhaps more interesting. The distinctly individual technique is, I believe, that of an altar-piece in Santa Croce at Florence, in the chapel to the left of the high altar; sharp, clear, precise in drawing, with good color in single tones, but pallid and without fusion, with an over-elaboration of ornament and with rather painfully diminutive figures. An "Annunciation" of rather perfunctory quality, given to Pietro Cavallini (No. 19), seems evidently a work of the last half of the XIV century.

<sup>4</sup> It is described and engraved in FUMAGALLI, *Museo di Pittura e Scultura delle Gallerie d'Europa*, vol. XIII.

Less closely connected with Florence than those I have mentioned, and with some Siennese affectation, though heavy and distinctly in the Florentine tradition, is a large triptych (No. 22) of considerable decorative quality and in good preservation. It recalls in the types and in feeling the panel of the Florence Academy which was the joint work of Spinello, Jacopo da Casentino and Lorenzo di Niccolo, but is more carefully executed. Still another and more vigorous phase of Giottesque art is illustrated in an important "Deposition" attributed to Antonio Veneziano (No. 37), and accepted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle as a representative example of his style,<sup>5</sup> of which a half-tone reproduction is here given (Pl. VI). These critics, whose judgment of XIV century panels is not often to be impugned, cite no other extant works of Antonio on panel. The picture has a close correspondence with the authenticated frescoes of the Pisan Campo Santo in general handling, in "norms" and in the treatment of the draperies, as is evident on a comparison of photographs. It is much cruder, however, much more labored, and very muddy in tone, which may be due in part to repaints; though I fancy its inferiority may be explained by the difficulties inherent in a medium more obstinate than that of the clear water-color which Antonio employed with such ease in the frescoes. The panel, for all its intensity, is such an unpleasant performance, technically considered, that it hardly adds to Antonio's reputation.

Pictures of slight interest, assigned to an unknown painter (No. 29), to Giotto (No. 32), to Angelo Gaddi (No. 28), to Spinello Aretino (Nos. 33-34), to Jacopo da Casentino (No. 30), to Lorenzo di Bicci (No. 36), and to Fra Angelico (No. 40, probably by one of the Bicci), may be passed without further notice, with no loss to completeness of the survey.

SIENNA.—If we exclude the unimportant example of the Greco-Italian School, ascribed to Duccio and mentioned above, the earliest example of Siennese painting in the Jarves collection is an "Assumption of the Virgin" (No. 35), very characteristic of the symmetry and graceful affectation of the lesser XIV century craftsmen. It is probably later in date than the Lorenzetti, to

<sup>5</sup> "Entirely in his manner."—CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *Hist. of Ital. Paint.*, vol. I. p. 491.

Judge by its dry technique and an over-elaborateness in the ornament carried out at the expense of higher art qualities.

An interesting "Epiphany," attributed to Simone Martini, but later in date (No. 15), is not certainly Siennese, and I cannot place it exactly. The lower part of the composition, a group of horses in action, is well-preserved and very spirited and well-handled. I may mention in passing an insignificant panel ascribed to Sassetta (No. 48), as peculiar in the treatment of the landscape background with its yellow sky. Several small panels and fragments from Predelle of Siennese altar-pieces of the early xv century may also be noticed. No. 51, given to Giovanni di Paolo, is excellent. That given to Sano di Pietro is characteristic, but inferior to his best work in this line, which as genre is often delightful, as is notably the case in the admirable little compositions of the Louvre. Sano's altar-pieces in Sienna are numerous and well known, but his works are seldom seen elsewhere. A small "Coronation," in excellent preservation (No. 50), is highly characteristic and unusually good. As in the case of other Siennese craftsmen who are quite uninfluenced by Florentine naturalism, and whose conception of their art is that of the mediæval miniaturist, Sano's limitations are less obtrusive in his smaller panels. The brilliancy of pure color in the New Haven example, of which a reproduction is given on PL. VII, renders the piece entirely representative of the "Siennese Fra Angelico."

A "Madonna and Child" attended by two angels, attributed to Matteo di Giovanni (No. 57), we have also reproduced from a photograph (PL. VIII). A recent examination of the xv century paintings in Sienna convinced me that this weakly-drawn but delightfully-decorative panel belongs rather to Benvenuto di Giovanni, whose manner may be easily recognized—in the types, the treatment of the hands, the draperies, and the flat but clear and coloristic tonality—as individual and distinct from that of Matteo or other Siennese contemporaries.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Outside of Italy I have seen only two (or possibly three) examples of this master. A Madonna and Child with Saints, in the London National Gallery (No. 909); a Madonna and Child with two Saints, in the Cologne Museum (No. 777), which might, however, be by some other Siennese painter of the time, though not by Bernadino Fungai, to whom it is ascribed; and a Madonna and Child attended by angels, exhibited in the loan collection of Religious Art, held in March and

I may close the list of Siennese pictures with the mention of two examples of Sodoma, "A Madonna and Child" (No. 95), of which I am not competent to judge, but which seems original, though weakly painted in the hands; and a "Christ Bearing the Cross" (No. 94), which is entirely repainted. This latter may be a copy, as also a Beccafumi (No. 96), neither of which I have, however, examined with any attention.

**UMBRIAN SCHOOL.**—The Jarves collection possesses a valuable signed example of one of the rarest of early xv century masters, Gentile da Fabriano—a "Madonna and Child" standing in a Gothic niche (No. 39). The picture is cited by Crowe and Cavalcasse as injured by restoration, but the repaints have been partly removed, and the picture, while perhaps more interesting to the historical student than to the general art-lover, is important enough to have a bearing on various interesting questions which cluster about the artist's manner and influence. A reproduction is given (Pl. ix) for purposes of comparison with other quite as unsatisfactory Madonnas, such as those of the Louvre and the Berlin Museum. It is to be regretted that the only known remaining fresco by Gentile, the Madonna at Orvieto on a pier in the Duomo, and the equally exquisite Madonna by his predecessor and presumable teacher, Lorenzo or Jacopo da San Severino, a fresco in the Oratory of Saint John at Urbino, should be still unphotographed.

The catalogue ascribes to Fra Filippo Lippi a "St. Jerome in the Desert" (No. 60), which is supposed to be the panel mentioned and highly praised by Vasari, which hung in the Guardaroba of Cosimo de Medici. Of this we also give a reproduction (Pl. x), which hardly does justice to the original. Vasari speaks of it in connection with the well-known "St. Augustine in his Study," of the Uffizi (No. 1179). The quality of the picture is so notably fine that it is worthy as complete a discussion as would be required by the interesting series of questions connected with the possibility of its identification with the Cosimo panel. I can only say here that it is obviously not by Lippi, but rather a fine example of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, to judge by its exact correspondence in "norms" and technique with Fiorenzo's

April, 1895, at Nos. 335-341 Fourth avenue, New York. This panel is owned by Mr. James Benwick, and is attributed to Fra Filippo Lippi. It belongs, however, without a doubt, to Benvenuto, and is a good example.

St. Sebastian in the gallery at Perugia.<sup>7</sup> There is a dramatic vigor and unity in the handling of this picture, which, if it be Vasari's "Lippo Lippi," is an ample justification of the Aretine's enthusiasm. The picture is far above the average of Fiorenzo's rather uneven performance, and perhaps indicates the influence which he is supposed to have received from Florentine metal-workers. The landscape is Ghirlandesque, but with Ghirlandajo the figure is never so nervously handled.<sup>8</sup>

Signorelli is represented by a small "Presepio," probably part of a predella (No. 67), of the broadest treatment, parallel to that of his masterly church-standards at Città di Castello and Urbino, and in quite perfect condition—a prize indeed for any collection. A fine "Holy Family" (No. 90), by Lo Spagna, is thoroughly representative, I should say, while the Perugino of the collection (No. 70) is of no quality beyond that of the weakest of numerous XVI century school pieces. A decorated salver of great interest, wrongly attributed to Pinturricchio, is mentioned below as of the Florentine School. Attributed, no doubt correctly, to Francesco Francia, is a "Portrait of the Princess Vitelli" of notable quality. It has been reproduced in Scribner's Magazine, I believe, from a drawing by Blum, but I am unfortunately unable to give the exact reference.

**FLORENCE. THE EARLY RENAISSANCE.**—Beginning with the Renaissance movement in Florence, we find a large mass of material illustrative of painting on its industrial side, as used in the decoration of articles of household furniture—*cassoni*, *deschi da parto*,

<sup>7</sup> Catalogue of 1887, Cabinet 9 of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, No. 11, photographed by Alinari [No. 5652].

<sup>8</sup> The picture is not fairly represented in the half-tone reproduction. It is notable for a somewhat sombre and yet vibrant tonality, in no sense coloristic, yet quite free from violence. The feeling for structure is a natural expression of a plastic ideal; the lights and darks reinforced, crag by crag, sky by water, with great subtlety but no refinement of detail, being thus plastic and subordinate to the figure rather than independently pictorial as in many Florentine backgrounds. The general color scheme is in greys and greens. The flesh tints are green in the body color, the modelling carried on with reddish glazes, and with extreme high lights boldly laid on, giving a result of little fusing and mannered, but adequate and in vigor easily above the ordinary Umbrian or Florentine standard, and suggestive of Paduan or Paduan-Ferrarese influence. Marked mannerisms are apparent in the reproduction. The panel has been retouched in a few places but is essentially intact.

and the like, some of which are of quite early date, and many of which show the influence and some the hand of well-known painters.

All of this work is more or less interesting as illustrative of Renaissance feeling. It is notably decorative, though usually inferior in execution to the better Predella pieces of the period. Paolo Uccello, Domenico Veneziano, Dello Delli, the family of the Peselli and Piero di Cosimo are those who, as a rule, divide the responsibility for these productions in gallery catalogues. There are some fine examples in London (in the National Gallery) of extra-Florentine origin; notably those attributed to Pinturicchio and one given to Domenico Morone of Verona. Piero di Cosimo has done a number which have been identified, and others have been given confidently to Francesco Pesello, but the great mass of examples of Florentine origin have not as yet been critically studied. The New Haven gallery includes six quite characteristic examples of this delightful art, of which one given to Piero di Cosimo (No. 82, hung very high) seemed fairly characteristic of that master on a rapid examination, while several of the others offered marked divergencies from the manner of the artists to which they were attributed. Fine as is the scene attributed to Piero della Francesca (No. 69), in its color and grouping and decorative feeling, it has not his types or color scheme, and the execution is too feeble for Piero, who is quite invariably careful and refined in touch in his panel pieces. The picture belongs to that higher class of early Florentine Cassone pieces which are often associated with the name of Dello Delli. It has some correspondence with Dello's decorations in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, but as we know nothing definite of Dello's technique on panel, it would be rash to ascribe this to his hand. The two lively panels attributed to Uccello (Nos. 43 and 44, from the same *cassone*), and the very interesting tournament scene ascribed to Dello (No. 45), are good examples of much the same period and class of work. I may mention here that to Dello also is ascribed an interesting little St. Martin (No. 46), in which the gold work is notably pleasing. The piece is, I should say, by an earlier hand.

Of higher interest, perhaps, than the others is the allegorical

panel given mistakenly to Gentile da Fabriano (No. 38). It reflects the literary spirit of the Renaissance, and seems not to be by a first-rate hand, but to reproduce types already accepted, and which are, even in the paraphrase of a weaker executant, very beautiful and distinctly Florentine. It is probably as early as Masolino, with whose work it has some correspondence. It has the traditional portraits of Dante and others, with other distinctly Florentine types which are often repeated in the composition. The exquisitely painted salver attributed to Pinturicchio (No. 71) is an example of industrial art of which I remember no exact prototype, and I am not able to suggest its derivation, though I presume it to be like all the others, purely Florentine. An illustration is published (Pl. XI) in the hope that a more certain and more definite attribution may be suggested by some special student of the industrial painting of the Renaissance.<sup>9</sup> These Cassone pieces at New Haven are entirely characteristic examples of their kind; the story-telling is never dull, the costumes are quaint and rich, and the color glows undimmed by restoration. In this connection I may mention an insignificant panel depicting a scene from the legend of St. Nicholas, ascribed to Neri di Bicci (No. 62), which shows an early bit of nature study in the nude, and suggests, perhaps, something of a hypothetical movement toward the art of certain paintings attributed to the Peselli.

We return to a more serious art with a panel attributed to Masaccio, "The Infancy of St. John the Baptist" (No. 42), which is of considerable interest for the original treatment of the subject and for the sweep of the background composition. It seems to be of Masaccio's time and tendency.

With a "Madonna Adoring the Child," ascribed to Masolino (No. 41, tabernacle piece), we seem to meet the influence of Fra Filippo Lippi, reflected, I believe, in the charming feeling of some minor scholar. Contrast this quite second-rate but self-poised

<sup>9</sup> The panel is 26 inches in diameter, painted in transparent and subtly fused tempera, the values well understood and the landscape distance atmospheric and justly subordinated. Maroons, greys and quiet greens predominate. The rocks in warm greys, with delicious pinks in the draperies and blonde hair for all the figures. The sleeves of the female figure to the left of the "Amor," and the robe of the figure with a cord, are stamped on gold. The wings of the "Amor" are pink, with some gold work.



and individualistic art with what no doubt, at first sight of the collection, may pass for its greatest picture, the Madonna of the school of Botticelli (No. 74). The poor apprentice whose duty it was to trace from the cartoon Botticelli's outline, did not enjoy his art half as well, I fancy, as the naive painter of the tabernacle piece above alluded to. The picture is pleasing, but Botticelli never did such hard outlines or such feeble hands. A better known assistant of Lippo's, Fra Diamante, is represented here by a characteristically weak example. The inadequate modelling and general lifelessness of the figures is partly redeemed, however, by a finely decorative treatment of the rose-hedge background.

An "Annunciation," presumably the lunette of an important altarpiece, is attributed to Pietro Pollajuolo, with whom it has nothing in common (No. 65, 50 by 11 inches). It is remarkable for its crisp and light tonality, for the ably and freely drawn monochrome classic basreliefs on the parapet in the middle distance, and especially for a masterly though completely subordinated landscape, which is discovered through the opening in the parapet. The principal figures are so much weaker as to suggest a less vigorous hand. The picture has a close affinity, especially in the leafage and general color scheme, to the panels in the Casa Buonarrotti, attributed by Vasari and all critics to Francesco Peselli, but which show certain features of divergence from the style of Francesco, and it seems to me may not be by his hand. The New Haven Annunciation must be considered in discussing the vexed questions which beset the student of the Peselli in their relations to Fra Angelico (see the undoubted and very beautiful examples of Francesco in the Doria Gallery), Lippo Lippi, Baldovinetti and others, but the exact bearing of the piece I am not able to discuss at present, nor dare I assert positively its connection with the author of the Casa Buonarrotti panels.

Antonio Pollajuolo is represented by a work that must have once been one of his most pleasing creations, the "Hercules killing Nessus" (No. 64). The landscape especially, a view of Florence and the Arno Valley from Signa, must have been delightful. The picture is ruined by repainting and cannot adequately be here reproduced.

A genuine Fillippino Lippi (No. 81), the "Crucifixion," may be compared with a panel of the same subject at Berlin.<sup>10</sup> A small "Crucifixion," attributed to Lorenzo Di Credi, of very good quality, does not belong to his early manner, and may not be by his hand. A "Madonna," not above the executive ability of an apprentice, is given to Cosimo Roselli (No. 72). Below Fra Bartholomeo, yet of considerable force despite its distressing repaints, is a large "Pieta," ascribed to the frate (No. 86).

An important altar-piece of the XVI century, ascribed to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo (No. 97), is also much injured by repainting, and yet leaves an impression of high and serious art quality. It may be compared with an Albertinelli in the Florence Academy No. 70; Alinari, No. 1383), but might easily be by Ridolfo. A reproduction is (Pl. XII) given for the assistance of those who have paid especial attention to the period. I am not able to give an accurate account of its condition or technique.

A fresco (transferred to canvas) of a "Madonna and Child," ascribed to Andrea Del Sarto (No. 92), now almost entirely obliterated, reminds me of Barocci. Pictures of some quality, original or other, ascribed to Franciabigio (No. 91, much darkened), to Albertinelli (No. 87), to Pontorno (No. 99), to Raphael (No. 89), I have not examined, and I cannot express an opinion as to the authorship of the important but in part repainted Annunciation attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli (No. 63).

**NORTHERN ITALY.**—Mantegna's name appears as sponsor for a weak "Crucifixion" of the Florentine school (No. 56), but for his influence, or that of the movement of which he is chief, we may well turn to a "Nativity" of curious interest ascribed to Squarcione (No. 55), which approaches very nearly in manner the miniatures of Girolamo da Cremona in the Cathedral Library at Sienna and may be by his hand, though I am not acquainted with any pictures by that artist, who is in his miniatures closely related to Liberale of Verona.

A "St. Sebastian," attributed to Cottignola (No. 98), has very little value in its present condition, and does not resemble the artist's treatment of the same subject in the Ferrara Atheneo.

Few of the Venetian pictures in the Jarves collection are char-

<sup>10</sup> A St. Sebastian ascribed to him (No. 80), has none of his marked characteristics, and is of little importance.

acteristic of what we associate with Venice. There are several specimens of the work of scholars or imitators of Giovanni Bellini, all more or less repainted. The "Bellini" (No. 75) is an original example of some XVI century imitator. It is dry and Bergamesque in color and is not representative of the better class of school work. A probable Bissolo, once fine but now cruelly repainted, is classed as a Basaiti (No. 79). Ascribed to Giorgione is a small "Circumcision" (No 77), in which there is probably not a square millimetre of the original color remaining. It strongly recalls the Louvre "Holy Family" attributed to Giorgione, and given by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pellegrino di San Daniele, but is abler in composition, and was perhaps once a Giorgione. Even in its present condition it has somehow an indescribable charm. It has no connection with the Bellini of Castle Howard (the "Circumcision"), the composition of which is so often repeated in school copies.

I cannot discuss all the examples of high Renaissance painting of the North Italian and other schools in the Jarves collection, but may mention in conclusion a portrait attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo (No. 104). In connection with a portrait ascribed to Jacopo da Ponte (Bassano) the editor of the catalogue speaks of that great technician as "an inferior painter." Velasquez had a different opinion.

The general character of the Jarves collection may be inferred from the above notes, which are intended to include everything of importance to the end of the early Renaissance period. My estimate, however it may err in detail, is, I am confident, fairly just in perspective. Estimated as exhaustively representative on the historical side, even the greatest collections are misleading; over-estimation of single works is likewise to be guarded against. To make a Raphael out of an Eusebio, is to steal that which does not enrich the one and leaves the other poor indeed. After all, it is not the name which a picture bears which should measure its capacity for instruction. It would be profitable for us to care less about proving our Gothic altar-pieces Giotto's and more about their interpretation as records of mediæval sentiment and thought.

It may be said that the Jarves collection is made up, with perhaps the exception of one masterpiece, the "Jerome" attributed

to Lippi, of the minor works of minor men, and includes much that is more interesting to the amateur in ascriptions than to the general art public. There are a number of examples of rather rare Italian artists not of the first rank. The collection is especially rich in XIV century panel-pieces and in the industrial art of the early Renaissance. Some of the pictures have suffered from restoration, but the larger number have been preserved from this destructive mania by the modesty of their pretensions and the intelligence of their custodians. It is desirable that the collection should be better known and subjected to a more exhaustive historical criticism than I am able to offer. Given a complete collation of all extant original examples of early Italian painting, which will only be physically possible with the aid of complete photographic records, I believe it will be quite possible to extend the boundaries of our knowledge far more widely and to ground it upon a more scientific foundation than has yet been attempted. The "New connoisseurship" should bestir itself to the end of getting its material recorded, Morellian norms and all, and then an exhaustive criticism of our American examples will be a possibility.

Perhaps the most useful function of such minor collections as we are fortunate enough to possess in America, is as forming nuclei for libraries or museums of reproductive material, especially of photographic records, the limitations of which on their merely artistic side at least, might be compensated by the actual presence of original examples of art. The almost complete lack of such illustrative material in American libraries, which is especially noticeable in the matter of painting, is a handicap to the intelligent study of the history of art.

Princeton, N. J.,  
April, 1895.

WILLIAM RANKIN.

NOTES ON BYZANTINE ART AND CULTURE IN  
ITALY AND ESPECIALLY IN ROME.

[PLATES XIII, XIV, XV.]

In a recent number of the JOURNAL<sup>1</sup> I published whatever evidence had come to my notice of the presence of Byzantine artists in Italy during the Middle Ages, evidence based on artists' signatures and on literary sources, without reference to style. I then expressed the belief that such evidence could never prove entirely satisfactory, because the custom of signing their works was not prevalent among Byzantine artists, especially during the early part of the Middle Ages, and because the literary evidence appears to be extremely scanty. The two other methods employed to ascertain whether a work of mediæval art is or is not Byzantine in character have been: (1) the comparative study of Eastern and Western iconography, extremely important but still in its infancy; (2) a judgment based upon artistic style—a method still charged with the personal equation, and rendered extremely insecure from the general lack of a clear acquaintance with the real character, the variations and the limits of the Byzantine style.<sup>2</sup> A foundation for this acquaintance must be laid through the combined study of all the branches of Byzantine civilization that are fundamentally connected with the Fine Arts;<sup>3</sup> and this means much

<sup>1</sup> *A.J.A.*, ix, pp. 32-52: *Byzantine Artists in Italy from the VI to the XV cent.*

<sup>2</sup> A good example of the insufficiency of this method is the discussion that has taken place regarding the frescoes of the XI century in S. Angelo in Formis near Capua. According to KRAUS—the foremost German authority on Christian Archaeology—these frescoes mark the close of Western Carolingian art as contrasted to Byzantine, and he compares them to the frescoes at Reichenau (*Jahrb. d. k. preuss. Kunstsamml.*, Bd. xiv, Heft 1-3). CARL FREY, on the contrary, sees in the S. Angelo frescoes the work of the pure Byzantine school (*Deutsches Wochenblatt*, Oct. 12 and 19, 1893); so does ED. DOBBERT, in the *Repert. f. Kunstwiss.*, 1892.

<sup>3</sup> An excellent Byzantine bibliography is given by KRUMBACHER in his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich, 1891), on pp. 27-32.

because in no other civilization was art so closely linked with theological ideas and dogmas and with current and popular traditions and beliefs; in none other was it so universal a means of instruction for all classes.<sup>4</sup> And then there is needed the publication of a *corpus* of undoubted Byzantine examples. To a student of the Middle Ages it is of extreme importance to understand what influence Byzantium exercised upon the West during its formative period, between the seventh and the eleventh centuries, when its civilization, complete, brilliant, and pervasive, was as a beacon to the crude and groping West, and was the only great centre of inspiration, although it was often antagonized and reviled.

The study of Byzantine influence in Italy, which I made in connection with the article mentioned above, has led to the publication of these notes. If they are largely beyond the strictly artistic and archaeological pale, this seemed required by objections such as that recently made by Professor Springer,<sup>5</sup> that Byzantine art could not become acclimated in the West, because nowhere could it find congenial surroundings—in religious and social institutions, in language and customs. Such a judgment leads him to the conclusion that for the West there is really no Byzantine question at all, no radical, permanent and general, but only an ephemeral, superficial and extremely restricted influence, in the development of Europe. My main object is to examine into the correctness of this opinion in so far as it relates to Italy; and the conclusion that I have reached is that the debt to Byzantium is undoubtedly immense: in fact, the difficulty consists in ascertaining what amount of originality can properly be claimed for the Western arts, industries and institutions during the Early Middle Ages, and how strongly the later and more original development of the XII, XIII and XIV centuries continued to depend upon these Byzantine artistic principles, ideas and forms. One is still obliged, in dealing with Byzantine civilization, to fight against an accumulated popular inheritance of ignorant prejudice unique in history, a relic of the hatred of the Mediæval

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my article in the *Presbyterian Review* (April, 1890), on *The Relation of Christian Art to Theology*.

<sup>5</sup> Introduction to KONDAKOFF, *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin*, vol. I.

West, which outdid the exploits of the barbarous hordes that sacked Rome, when in 1204 it laid its lustful hands on Constantinople, and after destroying, vilified its victim.<sup>6</sup>

Were archaeologists better acquainted with the facts made public of recent years by students of Byzantine history,<sup>7</sup> to whom we owe the present reaction, they would realize that the East, after suffering a temporary eclipse during the seventh and eighth century, entered into a period of new life, which lasted, roughly speaking, for two centuries. This period of the ix, x and early xi centuries saw a development of Byzantine institutions and art fully equalling that of the period of Justinian, under some of the finest rulers of mediæval history, able administrators and generals, who recovered for the empire many of her lost provinces in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, Africa and Italy, defeating the Bulgarians and Slavs, the Mohammedans, Franks and Germans.<sup>8</sup> It was natural that a reaction should follow, and that the decadence of the xii century should lead up to the disaster of 1204. The prejudice against Byzantine art is due partly to the

\* What a comment it is on the traditional cowardice of the Byzantines to compare the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, on the one side, fleeing precipitately with all his followers, without striking a blow, when the Byzantine General Strategopoulos entered Constantinople in 1261, with, on the other side, the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine, fighting hopelessly, he and his handful, against the countless Turkish battalions, and falling at the breach. And he was no exception, but simply followed the traditions of his predecessors, those great warrior emperors of the ix and x centuries. What a contrast it is to compare Constantinople, the glorious mother of mediæval art and civilization, as she was when taken by the Crusaders in 1204, and looked upon by them mainly in the light of the greatest looting-place in the world, to be pitilessly sacked and ruined, with the Constantinople of 1261, when the Greeks returned to find its bronze statues and even its metal church coverings melted for coin, its marbles used for mortar, its churches torn down to use their wooden beams for firewood. Not a finger raised during sixty years by its Latin occupiers for anything but destruction.

<sup>7</sup> General histories by FINLAY, THIERRY, PAPARREGOPOULOS; HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*; RAMBAUD, *L'Empire Grec au dixième siècle*; SCHLUMBERGER, *Un Empereur Byzantin au dixième siècle*; LENORMANT, *La Grande Grèce*; ARMINGAUD, *Venise et le Bas empire*; LENTZ, *Das Verhältniss Venedigs zu Byzanz*; HARTMANN, *Byzantinische Verwaltung in Italien*; DIEHL, *L'administration Byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne*; HARNACK, *Das Karolingische und das Byzantinische Reich*, etc.; GASQUET, *Études Byzantines*; etc., etc. Further material can be found in KRUMBACHER's list, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Consult the works of Rambaud, Schlumberger and others, referred to in the preceding note.



fact a great majority of the works attributed to it in the West belong to the decadence of the XII and XIII centuries, and that the worst of these are not by Byzantine artists, but by inferior Western imitators.<sup>9</sup>

#### ITALY AND BYZANTIUM.

Prof. Springer's discussion of the Byzantine question, in his introduction to Kondakoff's recent *Histoire de l'Art Byzantin*, may be taken as a fair statement of a large class of art critics, and I shall consequently take it as my text. His opinion is that Byzantine influence overstepped its normal limits only under exceptional circumstances, and that the predominance of Byzantine elements in certain parts of the West during the Early Middle Ages, supposes local artistic powerlessness and stagnation (p. 16). He denies (p. 19) that, up to the close of the X century, any foreign (*i. e.*, Byzantine) influences were felt except in the portions of Southern Italy that were dependencies of the Byzantine empire. For the Romanesque (XI–XII cent.), as well as for the Carolingian period, any Byzantine influence in architecture, sculpture or painting is denied; and it is asserted that the better one becomes acquainted with Byzantine art the more it is seen to be local, like the art of any other people; and Springer finally goes so far as to assert that *for the West there is really no Byzantine question at all*. In his opinion, "The existence of Byzantine art supposes certain special conditions: when these are wanting the soil is not propitious to its growth. General impressions or a mere resemblance of technical processes are not sufficient to favor its development." The legend of Greek monks fleeing from the Iconoclasts is not convincing; for permanent and not transient and casual causes are required. Byzantine art can reign only where it can be understood, and where the customs and especially the ecclesiastical institutions are in harmony with its aspirations.

<sup>9</sup> This refers mainly to Italy. All Italian painting during the XII and XIII centuries, with either Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine, and the works of such men as the Berlinghieri, Margaritone and other men, especially of the Pisan and Lucchese schools, are instances of how low painting could sink. Byzantine artists would have despised such works, even during the period of their own decadence. The same was the case with many of the earlier mosaics in Rome during the VII, VIII and IX centuries.

In such cases its influence will be general. But even where the Greek language was current and its civilization dominant, Byzantine influence was unable to maintain itself in an enduring way. In Sicily it was thrown off soon after the Arab yoke was removed, *etc.* The gist of the above synopsis of Prof. Springer's opinion is that Byzantine art could flourish only in congenial surroundings, and that such surroundings were never really permanent or natural in the West. He grants that they existed for a time in Venice, in Sicily, and in Southern Italy, but he minimises his admission by asserting the absolute isolation of Venice, and by claiming that in Sicily the Byzantine yoke was thrown off as soon as the Norman conquest had restored initiative and freedom.

Before studying Byzantinism in Rome, which is the main object of this paper, it may be well to test the accuracy of this judgment of Springer by a brief review of the connection of the other parts of Italy with Byzantium. Of course in doing this many facts must be mentioned that are known, but the picture would be otherwise incomplete. The subject itself can be treated only suggestively in so limited a compass, and many proofs must be omitted. Perhaps, on the way, an answer can be found to these questions: (1) Were there in Italy, at any time, centres where the different phases of civilization were favorable to a development of Byzantine art? (2) Is the legend of Greek monks coming to Italy not convincing, and are they to be regarded as a merely transient or as an integral factor? (3) Does not Professor Springer confound two distinct factors—Byzantine art proper and Byzantine influence on Western art?

A certain Oriental element can be found in parts of Italy, and especially at Ravenna, during the iv and v centuries, but the main influx began with the conquest under Justinian in the vi century. Shortly after the close of the Gothic wars (535–553), by which Belisarius and Narses had re-annexed Italy to the Roman Empire of the East, the entire peninsula as well as Sicily came to be governed by a Byzantine exarch, the emperor's viceroy, under whom were the dukes, *magistri militum*, consuls and turmarshs of the different provinces, and a well-organized hierarchy of Byzantine military and civil functionaries. The first

break came, almost immediately, with the Lombard invasion, which wrested a large part of the peninsula from Byzantine rule; the second was brought about by the policy of the Iconoclastic emperors,<sup>10</sup> which led to enmity between Rome and Byzantium and the schism of the two churches, consummated in 789; the final blow came in the capture of Ravenna—the capital of Italy—by the Lombards in 753. Here ended the first wave of Byzantine influence, which had exercised but little artistic power after the middle of the VII century, except in Rome, for this century was one of decadence throughout the Orient. Then, at the very moment when the rise of the Frankish empire menaced the Western provinces of Byzantium, the crisis raised up, as it so often does, men equal to the great emergency: such men as Basil the Macedonian, and, later, Nikephorus Phokas and John Zimiskes. At this time the supremacy over Venice was strengthened, Sicily reconquered, and a great part of Southern Italy colonized by Greeks. After the XI century, when the Eastern empire lost irrecoverably all its Italian possessions, Byzantine influence was perpetuated in two ways: (1) through commerce carried on by the great maritime cities—Venice, Genoa, Pisa; (2) by the conservative character of the Byzantine colonies, especially in the South, which perpetuated for several centuries the various elements of Byzantine culture; (3) through emigration.

Byzantinism in Italy naturally falls into five sections, which taken together form a network extending without a break from the V to the XIII centuries, during which time a considerable portion of the peninsula was more or less dependent upon Byzantium. RAVENNA illustrates this fact very fully from the V to the VII centuries, the picture being completed by secondary monuments extending from the cities of Istria to Rome and Capua. Then follows ROME, a refuge for Greeks during the Iconoclastic period, and full of monuments by their hands belonging to the VII, VIII and IX centuries. At the close of their activity in Rome, SOUTHERN ITALY raised the Byzantine standard when Calabria and Apulia were colonized in the IX and X centuries by the Byzantine emperors and from Sicily, and at the other end of Italy, the people of VENICE adopted Byzantium as the norm-giver of their

<sup>10</sup> All Italy rose against Leo the Isaurian between 726 and 730.

civilization when it began so greatly to expand at the close of the x century. Both Venice and Calabria were far more Greek than Italian. Finally, the last and best known display of the Byzantine artistic style in Italy is in the mosaics of the xi, xii and xiii centuries in SICILY, Rome, Venice and elsewhere, by which the art of painting was re-founded under the direction of Byzantine iconography and style.

I shall study these phases successively, beginning with Ravenna.

#### RAVENNA.

After the partition of the empire, during the closing years of the iv century, while Rome lapsed to the rank of a provincial city, Ravenna became the Western capital, and preserved this rank, with ever-waning power, until the final overthrow of Byzantine rule in 752. Had it been the seat of a rising power, it might have become the Queen of the Seas, taking the place afterwards held by Venice. As a unit in the problem before us, it is of the utmost importance. Already in the v century it was far more Greek than Italian. After the Byzantine reconquest in the vi century, it was the first to become thoroughly impregnated with the new civilization then taking form in Constantinople. This was to be expected, as the city was soon filled with Eastern traders, and with Byzantine troops and functionaries, becoming the principal bond between East and West. As Bayet and Diehl<sup>11</sup> have already remarked, if we wish to understand what Byzantine art was from the v to the vii centuries, it is not to the East that we must go, but to Ravenna, for the entire Orient could hardly furnish such a series as exists in Ravenna alone. The monuments are merely a tangible sign of a general condition, for it appears certain that a large part of the population, the majority of its early archbishops and of its clergy were of Greek nationality or descent, and its ecclesiastical relations were quite as close with Constantinople as with Rome. The city had a Greek association or *Schola Græca*, which must have been formed, as it was in Rome, of Greek inhabitants, of which there were large num-

<sup>11</sup> DIEHL, *Ravennne ; études d'archéologie byzantine* : BAYET, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture chrétiennes en Orient*, and his later work, *L'Art Byzantin*.

bers, especially in the large suburb of Classe, the port of the city. There are many proofs of the general use of the Greek language: the church of Ravenna was called *allocephalis* on account of its claim to be independent of Rome: its cathedral, when built late in the iv century, received the name *agios Anastasios*—Church of the Holy Resurrection: the archbishops appear to have received their surnames invariably in Greek. The city contained a number of monasteries of Greek monks, notably those of S. Maria ad Blachernas and S. Maria in Cosmedin. The abbot or *higoumen* of the latter monastery had the historic privilege of placing the mitre on the head of every new archbishop in the great basilica of S. Lorenzo in Cesarea, to which a Greek monastery was also attached. We must believe that Ravenna received extensive Greek and Eastern colonization at two periods: one considerably before, the other during the Byzantine occupation. Ravenna exercised a strong Grecizing influence over a large territory while it was the residence of the Byzantine exarchs. Its immediate territory was bounded by Venice on the north, by the fluctuating Lombard and Roman frontiers on the west and south; but its artistic influence—always purely Byzantine—had an even wider scope. To it we may attribute the wide spread of the peculiar style of Byzantine decoration in low relief which began to prevail at the close of the vi century over the entire peninsula, and which, with modifications due to artistic rise and fall and to the different nationality of the artists—whether Byzantines or Italians—held sway in Italy until the xi century. A fuller discussion of this fact will appear in connection with Byzantine art in Rome. Except for a few barbarous Lombard attempts, and for the continuation of the Latin form of the Roman basilica in certain provinces, all the branches of the Fine Arts in Italy appear to have been in the Byzantine style or in imitation of it from the vi to the x centuries.

#### VENICE.

I shall merely consider two points: the degree of Byzantinism and the reality of the isolation of Venice. After having at the very beginning (vi century) proved to Belisarius, Narses, and Longinus their fidelity to the empire—which always remained

for them the Roman empire—it would seem as if, first through real dependence as well as sympathy, and then from self-interest, Venice remained up to the xi century a consistent and more or less actual subject of the Byzantine empire. Venice owed her existence, her development and her power to the protection and privileges granted by the emperors of Constantinople. She should be regarded rather as an Eastern sentinel on Western shores than as part of the West. When Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, attacked the Venetians, in 805, because of their fidelity to Byzantium, and threatened their very existence, their reply was: "It is not to thee but to the Emperor of the Romans that we wish to belong." Venice would not have been one of the great mediæval powers had Byzantium not covered her with her protecting ægis, encouraged her commerce by the granting of special privileges, given her the investiture of Dalmatia, the possession of which, at the close of the x century, made her queen of the Adriatic; and finally, by the golden bull of Alexis I. in 1082, in recompense for help against the Normans, placed her in possession of the entire commerce of the East. During the first five centuries of Venetian history (vi–x) we find that whenever Byzantium wished it she exercised unquestioned power over Venetian affairs; requiring Venetian fleets and troops for expeditions from the time when they were used to recover Ravenna from the Lombards, in about 740, until they took so important a part in defeating the bold attacks of the Normans on the empire of the East in 1081 and again in 1147–9,—the intervening expeditions being either against the "Saracens" or the Franks and Germans. It is true that a distinct difference is to be noted between the beginning and the close of this period, and that while from the vi century up to the early part of the ix Venice was an essential part of the Byzantine empire; after that time her dependence was really nominal. The doges, almost without exception, during the entire period, received from the Byzantine emperors some title making them members of the hierarchy of the Eastern Court, and this title appears by many of them to have been held in higher esteem than that of doge.<sup>12</sup> It

<sup>12</sup> This would appear to be shown by a number of contemporary documents, where in some cases the Byzantine title is placed first, before that of Venetian doge,

was also the custom for the doge, shortly after his election, to send his son or brother to Constantinople, or to go in person, to assure the emperor of his fidelity. Sometimes the son remained for quite a period in the imperial city, and as the dogeship, with its association of son with father, in imitation of imperial usage, was virtually hereditary during a large part of this period, it is easy to understand how this familiarity with Byzantium gained by the heir presumptive served to strengthen the bonds that linked Venice to the East. It is significant that the early doges whose rule marked the greatest advances in Venetian power, the Galbai, the Partecipazi and the Orseoli, were thorough partisans of Byzantium. Even the Franks, while they tried to annex Venice, recognized her dependence on the Eastern empire. Eginhard, in his annals for the year 811, referring to the destitution and captivity of doge Obelerius at the hands of the Byzantine envoy Arsaphius, on account of his treachery, says: *Propter perfidium honore spoliatus Constantinopolim ad dominum suum duci iubetur*. This very unopposed deposition of doges Obelerius and Beatus by Arsaphius, who came from Constantinople at the head of a Byzantine fleet, and the election of a doge agreeable to the emperor, is certainly a striking instance of this dependence. The various titles accorded to the doges by the emperors were: hypatos, protospatharios, protosebastos, patricius, proedros, protoproedros. Of these the earliest was that of consul or hypatos, and the most frequently used that of protosebastos. It is interesting to note that when, in the XII century, Venice and the Empire had passed from friendship to distrust and enmity, the doges demanded and obtained that the rank of *protosebastos* should be a perpetual appanage of the dogeship.

Even at an early date Byzantine influence was current in Venetian ecclesiastical spheres. After the patriarchate had been removed from Aquileia to Grado, in consequence of the invasions, the man who established it upon a firm basis, and was one of the greatest administrators and builders that ever occupied the see, was a Greek, Elias, who built (c. 550) the churches still standing

and in other cases the Byzantine title alone is given. Consult TAFEL and THOMAS, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, Abth. II, Bd. XII, Theil. I; GLORIA, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. II, *Cod. diplom. Padovano*; ROMANIN, *Storia documentata di Venezia*.



in Grado. Shortly after the establishment of the new Venetian bishopric of Olivolo, in the VIII century, it was occupied by two Greeks, both named Christopher.

The mass of the people always showed their sympathy for the Eastern empire as against Lombards and Franks. The Venetians adopted the Greek costume and manners, and this went so far that they were often by Franks and Slavs, and even by Popes, confounded with the Greeks. The doge, the nobles, the women, all dressed after the Oriental fashion. Not only was the city full of Greeks, but all the products of the East were accumulated in its warehouses and palaces. Its churches were consecrated to Eastern saints, and the city itself was under the patronage of the famous Greek saint, Theodore, until the IX century, when he was superseded by S. Mark. Its nobles intermarried with Greek ladies. Hardly a citizen but had travelled on Venetian vessels to the Eastern ports, and especially to Constantinople, and being familiar with its monuments, its luxury, its refined and highly-organized civilization, held that of the West cheap in comparison, and were glad that they had escaped the feudal anarchy that had overwhelmed every other corner of Europe. The Venetians lived really as much in the East as at home. In the XII century there was hardly a town of any size, and certainly not a seaport, where the Venetians did not have a colony owning a street and a church, and governed according to its own laws by its own magistrates—bails or consuls. This was the case throughout the Byzantine Empire in Europe and Asia, from Dalmatia to Asia Minor and the ports of the Black Sea, and throughout the new and ephemeral domain of the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine. In Constantinople alone there were ten thousand resident Venetians—rich and haughty. Twenty thousand Venetians are reported as having gone to the East to trade during the year 1171, when Manuel Komnenos ordered the imprisonment of all the Venetians in the empire. The colonies reached at times such importance as to necessitate the creation of a diocese with a bishop appointed by the patriarch of Grado, and also led to the foundation of monasteries.

Owing to the fact that no history of the Greek colony anterior to 1204 has been attempted, it is not easy to ascertain how much

Greek blood flowed in Venetian veins. We may say that there were three ways in which it entered into Venetian life. First, through original Greek and Eastern settlers; second, through intermarriages with Greek women; and third, through emigrants. A number of the original families that fled to the lagoons, and whose names are noted in the *Chronicon Altinate*, several are from Greek centres: such were the Salviani from Salonica, the Campoli and Calpini or Albini Alboli from Capua. The famous Guistiniani family was of Greek origin, and so were the Candi-ani, and, later, the Zancaroli, Semitecoli, Bizzamani, and a host of others whose names will be found in documents of the XII and XIII centuries.<sup>13</sup> In many cases the signers of these documents put themselves on record as Greeks by adding that epithet to their name: Petrus Grecus, Petrus Greculo, Johannes Greco, Dominicus Grecus, Philipo or Philipus Greco, Bartholomeo Greco. In other cases the form of the name is a sufficient indication, for example: Petrus Sopulo, Domenicus Mazarion, Vitalis Basilio, Domenicus Nazio, Joannes Theonisto, Aurolino Pantaleo, Aurius Sisimulo, Jacopo Theupolo, etc. Of even greater importance, though less easy to gauge, is the effect of the intermarriages with Greek women, so common during several centuries as to strongly affect the Venetian aristocracy. One of the earliest on record is that of the grandson of doge Angelo Partecipazio (or rather, according to the ancient form of the word, Angelo Particiaco), who married in Constantinople before 821. Perhaps the most notable was that of John, the son of the great doge Pietro Orseolo II. He was sent to Constantinople in 1004, at the request of the Emperors Basil and Constantine, who married him to their niece Mary with great pomp, the young pair being crowned with gold crowns by the emperors, and remaining in Constantinople over a year, together with John's younger brother Otho, who afterwards became doge. The Greek woman that was the most gossiped about by the mediæval writers is the sister of the Emperor Nicephorus Botoniates, who married Doge Domenico Selvo (1071-84), and was so much blamed for wearing gloves, using perfumes, and not eat-

<sup>13</sup> Consult TAFEL and THOMAS, *op. cit.*, documents 25 (1090), 33 (1107), 59 (1164), 63 (1175), 78 (1196).

ing with her hands, but with fork and spoon. It is to be supposed that a large part of the Venetians who took up their residence in the Eastern empire married Greeks.

It is hardly probable that Greek emigrants affected Venice very considerably until the XI and XII centuries: we know that their numbers increased immensely after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204. In fact, the fall of the Eastern capital, so far from putting an end to Byzantine influence in Venice, was the occasion of its increase, especially in the sphere of art, both through the great numbers of Greeks and Greek artists that flocked to Venice, and the effect of the bringing to the city of the wonderful art treasures of Constantinople which the Venetians were alone in appreciating and seeking to save from destruction.

As Armingaud remarks:<sup>14</sup> "Commerce, politics, religion, all contributed to favor the presence of the Venetians and to protect their interests throughout the Eastern empire. They occupied a quarter in the capital, a street in the principal towns. They formed a numerous population, strongly established in the country by its riches, its high connections, and by its private interests and affections, but also strongly attached to the mother country by commercial relations, the enjoyment of a national legislation, the authority of its consuls and ambassadors, and the supreme jurisdiction of the head of its church, which was sufficiently hel- lenized to attain rapid success in Greece but too Venetian ever to forget Venice."

"If we turn from Constantinople to the lagoons, we find a no less strange spectacle: after the Venetians of the East, the Greeks of Venice; after Venetian colonization in Greece, the transformation of Venice by the Byzantines. The Greek colony, so numerous even now, has a very early origin. . . . But the presence of the Greeks was as nothing compared to their influence. The Venetians themselves seemed almost as Byzantine as the children of Byzantium."

Perhaps in no sphere outside of the artistic can this fact be

<sup>14</sup> M. T. ARMINGAUD, *Venise et le Bas-Empire. Histoire des relations de Venise avec l'empire d'Orient depuis la fondation de la république jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople au XIII siècle* (p. 451): published in *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et littéraires*, 2<sup>e</sup> série, t. 4, pp. 299-443.

more clearly demonstrated than in that of diplomacy. As early as the XI century the Venetian mind, trained by contact with the wily court of Constantinople, had attained to that calm clear-sightedness, that secrecy and discretion, that power of observation and knowledge of men, that ability to foresee and provide for all contingencies, which once attained under such eminent masters as the Byzantines, became traditional in Venice for centuries and lay at the root of her success.

These notes on the relations of Venice to Byzantium are necessarily brief and sketchy; but they are the substance of what might be greatly enlarged upon. The different phases of political dependence are well illustrated by Lentz's essay,<sup>15</sup> and good material is furnished by Armingaud, whose work, however, extends far beyond political questions into the social and commercial spheres, and is not wholly to be relied upon. To these works I refer for many details. The full force of the influence of Byzantium can, however, be felt only on a careful reading of the contemporary documents and the early chronicles.

This review will make it plain that, from her foundation up to the XIII century, Venice furnished almost an ideal environment—so far as there could be one in the West—for the use of Byzantine art. It was the form of art prevalent in what was to the Venetians' mind the most highly civilized portion of the world, the form they were most accustomed to seeing, and which they thoroughly appreciated and understood; while its harmonious, deep Oriental coloring captivated the natural Venetian color-sense. No one can seriously deny that Venetian art was largely Byzantine in character, so that it is not necessary to rehearse the matter here. The only dispute could be as to whether there were many artists from the East in Venice, or whether the churches were built and decorated altogether by Venetians trained in some cases in Constantinople. As this is really not of fundamental consequence in this inquiry, I shall mention merely some cases that are recorded

<sup>15</sup> ED. LENTZ, *Das Verhältniss Venedigs zu Byzanz nach dem Fall des Exarchats bis zum Ausgang des neunten Jahrhunderts*. I. *Venedig als byzantinische Provinz* (published in 1891 in Berlin); II. *Der allmähliche Uebergang Venedigs von faktischer zu nomineller Abhängigkeit von Byzanz* (publ. in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1893, pp. 64-115).

of Greek artists who worked in Venice, beginning with a fact that must be regarded as of considerable importance in the artistic history of Venice—the construction, at the expense of the Byzantine emperor and by artists sent from Constantinople, of the church and monastery of S. Zaccharias. The golden bull of the Emperor Leo V (814–820), giving instructions for the erection and enrichment of this monastery, has been lost. There remains, however, the decree of Doge Justinian (827–829), which I shall quote as being of unusual importance:<sup>16</sup>

*"Cognitum sit omnibus Christi et sancti Romani imperii fidelibus, tam presentibus quam et illis qui post nos futuri erunt, tam ducibus, quam patriarchis atque episcopis seu ceteris primatibus, quia ego JUSTINIANUS, imperialis Hypatus et Venetiarum Dux, per revelationem domini nostri omnipotentis et jussione domini serenissimi Imperatoris seu et conservatoris totius mundi, LEONIS, post multa nobis beneficia concessa feci hoc monasterium virginum hic in Venetia, secundum quod ipse iussit, edificare de propria camera imperialis, et secundum quod iussit mihi statim cuncta necessaria auri sive argenti dari. Tunc etiam nobis reliquias sancti Zaccariae prophetae et lignum crucis domini atque sanctae Mariae pannum sive de vestimentis Salvatoris et alias reliquias sanctorum nobis ad ecclesiam sanctam consecrandam dari fecit. Ad necessaria huius operis etiam magistros tribuit, ut citius opus explerent, et expleto opere congregatio sancta incessanter pro salute serenissimi imperatoris et suorum heredum orarent. De thesauro vero, quod manifesta sua carta cum literis aureis, et totum donum, quod in hoc loco ipse transmissit, in ipsa camera saluum esse statuimus. Tamen ipsam cartam in camera nostri palatii volumus ut semper permaneat, et ut non valeat aliquis hoc dicere, quod illud monasterium sancti Zaccariae de alicuius thesauro esset constructum, nisi de sanctissimi domini nostri Imperatoris Leonis."*

The Emperor Leo had been dead several years when Justinian became doge in 827. But Justinian had been for some time in Constantinople during the dogeship of his father, Agnellus Particiacus, probably in or before 819, was then made Hypatus by Leo, and may, on his return to Venice, have brought with him the emperor's bull and his gifts for the monastery which was to be built, including the relics, and was probably then accompanied by the Greek artists then destined by the emperor to erect the church

<sup>16</sup> TAFEL and THOMAS, *Fontes rerum Austr. Abth. II, Diplomata et acta*, I, No. 1.

and monastery. It must be believed that the construction was commenced at once, while he was associated in the dogeship with his father, for this decree of 827-29 speaks of the monastery as if it were already constructed.<sup>17</sup> A study of the Venetian documents shows that this was perhaps the most important monastery in the city—the place of burial for the doges, of refuge or forced retirement of great personages, the parish church of the new city, the owner of vast possessions, about which it was involved in frequent disputes. One would hardly be far from the truth in conjecturing that until the erection of St. Mark's in the XI century—not as a ducal chapel, but as a large basilica—S. Zaccharia, situated as it was not far from the ducal palace, was the most monumental church in the city and influenced the development of Venetian architecture, although so little now exists of the early church that this must remain a mere conjecture.<sup>18</sup> With S. Zaccharia begins a series of Byzantine monuments in Venice—palaces, churches, monasteries—some of which still remain. Such were the early ducal chapel of S. Mark's, S. Fosca of Torcello, S. Giacomo di Rialto, parts of the cathedral of Murano, many palaces in the style of the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, and, finally, the basilica of St. Mark's itself.

A notable invasion of Greek artists is evidently connected with the building and decoration of S. Mark's in the XI century. At that time Greek painters established an association in Venice under the patronage of Aghia Sophia, at a house near the church of St. Sophia, which had been built in 1020. Some native pupils of this guild afterwards seceded, and the disputes between the original and the branch associations were so vehement in the XIII century as to require the intervention of the authorities. A member of this Greek invasion was probably the mosaicist Petrus,

<sup>17</sup> In my paper on *Byzantine Artists in Italy* I referred to the presence of Greek artists in Venice, for the erection of S. Zaccharia, solely on the late authority of San-sovino, not having at that time become aware of the original document upon which the assertion was based.

<sup>18</sup> In his *Geschichte der Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs* (pp. 101-2), MOTHES says: "der bereits erwähnte Glockenthurm, sowie ein Stück des Kreuzganges im zugehörigen Nonnenkloster, sehr einfach aus Rundbogen-Arcaden mit Würfelkapitalsäulen bestehend, scheinen die einzigen Ueberbleibsel dieses alten Baues zu sein." I have not myself examined the tower and cloister, and cannot, therefore, judge whether Mothes' rather bold conjecture is probable.



who in 1100 began, according to an inscription, the mosaic decoration of St. Mark's. In 1153 Marcus Indriomeni, a Byzantine mosaicist, worked in Venice, and in the next century Theophanes of Constantinople opened a school for painting in Venice. A painter named Theophilus is also mentioned at this time. The pure Greek school continued to rule Venice until the XIV century.

I shall not describe the Venetian churches and palaces constructed or decorated in the Byzantine style between the IX and the XIII centuries; the general facts are well known, and I could add but a few less-known examples. My object is merely to prove that in Venice such works were no exotics, but in harmony with the traditions, life and experience of the people.

One point remains to be touched upon, and that is the isolation of Venice from all the rest of Italy. Is there any truth in Springer's contention that this isolation was such as to prevent her from radiating the Byzantine influence that had so possessed her? It seems as if the difficulty were raised through a historic misapprehension, through the error of looking at the Venice of the Middle Ages through the eyes of a modern man used to centralization, and who has in mind the isolated Venice of the last few centuries, and does not realize that in the Middle Ages most Italian cities were autonomous. As a matter of fact, there was no city in Mediaeval Italy whose connections were so broad and general, both within and without the limits of the peninsula. Before and during the Crusades it was the principal port of embarkation for the Orient, the resort of pilgrims and of knights from France, Germany and Italy. It supplied all Europe with the natural and artistic products of the East, and in turn ransacked the West for products to carry eastward in exchange. Its colonies were not only in the east, but in the west also, in the south of France (*e. g.*, Limoges) and in Germany, and its vessels not only utilized the seaports, but ran up the principal rivers. A glance at the history and trade of Venice during the XII and XIII centuries would rather lead to the conclusion that Venice was superior to all other Italian cities in her ability to influence others. In the sphere of the Fine Arts, for example, we find records of a number of foreigners working or studying in Venice, like the sculptor *Giovanni Demio* of Vicenza, the Lombard engi-



neer and architect, *Niccolo dei Barattieri* (xii cent.), the Ferrarese painter, *Gelasio di Nicolo* (c. 1200), the Florentine painter, *Andrea Tafi*, the Roman sculptor, *Marcus* (1217). On the other hand, Venetian artists are found working in distant parts of the peninsula and even outside of Italy. It is probably they who built St. Front at Perigueux, that famous facsimile of San Marco. We find the Venetian sculptor *Marcus Venetus* working in 1210 at Genoa, her later rival. Earlier than that, perhaps in the xi century, the sculptor *Joannes de Venetia* carves the main portal of the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin in Rome. Two further examples of great importance also come from Rome. During the last years of the xii or the first of the xiii century Pope Innocent III had the apse of S. Peter decorated with mosaics in the Byzantine style, each figure accompanied by a bilingual inscription in Greek and Latin.<sup>19</sup> It appears certain that the Roman school itself, although unsurpassed in decorative mosaics, was incapable at that time of producing monumental figured works. Consequently we must look outside of the native school for the mosaicists of the apse of St. Peter's; and there are only two schools in Italy, both of Byzantine origin, to which they can be attributed—the Sicilian and the Venetian.<sup>20</sup> Of these we are bound to select the Venetian, on the testimony of a letter of Pope Honorius III, which shows that the mosaics still existing in the apse of St. Paul outside-the-walls, of the same style as those in St. Peter, were the work of artists from Venice. This letter was addressed to Doge Pietro Zian, on January 23, 1818.<sup>21</sup> In it Honorius thanks the doge for having already furnished him a mosaicist, and requests

<sup>19</sup> Fragments from this apsidal mosaic of the old basilica still exist in the crypt of St. Peter, and I believe in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. They had been carefully and fully described before their destruction early in the xvi century.

<sup>20</sup> The Byzantine mosaic school at the monastery of Monte Cassino, established in the middle of the xi century, had stimulated, and in fact re-created the Roman school of monumental mosaic-painting during the first part of the xii century, but this revival, though important, was only temporary, and after producing works at S. Bartolommeo all' Isola, S. Clemente, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Francesca Romana, etc., it lapsed so completely that no works of any consequence were executed during the last forty years of the xii century.

<sup>21</sup> This letter was discovered and published by Prof. Mariano Armellini in his *Cronachetta* for 1893. See my article on the mosaics of Grottaferrata in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1883.

that others be sent to Rome from Venice in order to complete the apsidal mosaics in St. Paul. Thus the two principal basilicas of Rome were decorated by Veneto-Byzantine artists; and the Roman school of figured mosaics, which was to produce such fine works during the following hundred years, was reëstablished by this means. There is every reason to accept the substantial accuracy of Vasari's statement that Andrea Tafi learned mosaic-painting in Venice of the Greek Apollonios; at all events, we may believe that the Tuscan mosaic school of the close of the XIII century was merely an offshoot from the Venetian.

In my article on Byzantine artists in Italy, I spoke of certain Byzantine elements in the cathedral of Pisa, and referred to the doubtful nationality of its principal architect, Busceto. As the form and the meaning of this artist's name have given rise to much conjecture, and as it has, I believe, not been noticed to occur elsewhere, it is interesting to find it in a Venetian document of the XII century, under the form *Busceto*,<sup>22</sup> and this gives more likelihood to my suggestion of the Byzantine training of the Pisan architect. In the same article the paintings of the Bizzamani family of Otranto are mentioned; and this name is, I find, that of a family of Venetian Greeks noted in the XII century, and it seems likely that even at that time there may have been painters among them, for they are mentioned as constructing the church of St. Luke, the titular saint of the painters, and also the building for the housing of the corporation of Greek painters (A. D. 1147).

#### SOUTHERN ITALY.

It is or should be a commonplace, that Sicily and Southern Italy, except for some Lombard cities, were essentially Greek lands during the early Middle Ages. Sicily, beside a sprinkling of Lombards, had but two classes of inhabitants before the Norman conquest—Greeks and Arabs. Calabria was peopled by Greeks. The majority of the cities of Apulia were founded in the X and XI centuries by and for Greeks. Even Gaeta, almost

<sup>22</sup> This *Busceto* was an officer of the Venetian fleet that mutinied at Abydos in 1196, and the document which the officers signed, who clubbed together on this occasion to pay their seamen, is signed by a considerable number of Greek names. See TAFEL and THOMAS, *op. cit.*, doc. No. 78.

at the gates of Rome, as well as Naples and other cities of Campania, were preponderatingly Greek. It would be a waste of time to show in detail the vicissitudes of this development and the artistic side of it. Lenormant, Diehl, Battifol and a number of Italian specialists have studied parts of the subject, and have proved easily enough that Byzantine art enjoyed here every facility for free development in the midst of the most congenial environment. In the present paper this part of the subject must be taken for granted. The main prop of the anti-Byzantinists is Rome, and Rome will therefore be my main objective; for if Rome falls, what is left?

#### ROME.

Among the arguments employed against the strength of Byzantinism in Italy, none is more prominent than that based upon the antagonism of Latin Rome to everything Byzantine. Such an argument seems at first sight well-grounded. The split between East and West on the question of image-worship, the schism between the two churches, the transference of the political allegiance of Italy and the papacy from the Eastern emperors to the Franks—all these are due directly to Rome and the papal policy. And yet the fallacy of these reasons is almost self-evident. In the first place, the persecution of image-worship was a matter of imperial policy, not of popular feeling; and the immense majority, both of the clergy and of the people throughout the Orient, were in hearty sympathy with the attitude of the Roman Pontiffs, which may even be said to have strengthened rather than relaxed the hold of Byzantine influence on Italy, especially in the field of art, for it brought to the peninsula swarms of Byzantine artists. Then it must be remembered that among those popes who stood up strenuously for images and for the supremacy of Rome there were Greeks and Orientals, and that in Greek lands there were still many adherents to the Western Church. The transference of political allegiance was soon counterbalanced by the influence of the numerous Greek colonies and monasteries established in Southern Italy during and after the iconoclastic persecution (VIII-XI cent.), in addition to the monasteries established in Rome itself.

Much is made of the continuity of the Roman tradition from classic times. In illustrating this fact in the domain of art, for as

late a period as the XII century, Prof. Springer uses the identity of the decorative mosaic system used in the Sicilian churches with that of the Roman monuments as his strongest argument in favor of Rome's victory over Byzantium, even in her stronghold of Sicily, as soon as the Norman conquest had freed the population from the fetters of Byzantine tradition. Ample proof will be given in this article—for the first time, I believe,—that this beautiful system of decoration is, after all, not Roman, but Byzantine and Oriental in its origin, and that if it proves anything it proves that Byzantine art held sway even in Rome itself.

And yet, while it is perfectly natural that the strength of the Roman tradition should be constantly urged, it may be asked: Was there an unbroken Roman tradition? If it could be proved that a large Byzantine element was introduced at any time so as to form an integral part of the Roman development, in various forms of civilization, this theory of the radical opposition of the two would be no longer tenable.

Up to the VI century the Roman tradition may be regarded as unbroken. Whatever Greek element had found a home in it was a common inheritance of East and West before the formation of a distinct Byzantine type of civilization, and yet this Greek element was sufficiently powerful to affect the stream of Roman development. Greek was the sacred language, the language of the church from the beginning, and it remained so, more or less, until the XI or XII century. Greek ideas were most influential in literature, in liturgy, and in artistic types and subjects.<sup>23</sup> The absorption of this element was, however, complete, and the tradition thus established was not disturbed until the VI century. During the first decades of this century there were signs of closer union with Byzantium. The Arianism of King Theodoric the Goth led to a *rapprochement* between popes and emperors, and this was shown when Pope John II went to Constantinople in 525, where he was received with great honor, and crowned Justin emperor. The colonies of Alexandrians, of Syrians and of Greeks in Rome were reinforced, and churches were built in honor of Eastern saints. A typical monument of this sort is the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, in the Forum,

<sup>23</sup> E. g., portraits of Christ and series of biblical compositions.

built by Pope Felix IV (526-30) in honor of these great twin physicians, stayers of plague and pestilence—the Christian *Æsculapii*, famous throughout the East. Gregorovius says: “*They received an honor which had been, until then, reserved in Rome to Roman martyrs alone.*”<sup>24</sup>

With the introduction of Eastern saints came that of the Byzantine style, just then in process of formation, and preparing itself for its great achievement at St. Sophia. The sculptures of the ciborium and parapet in S. Clemente at Rome, executed between 514 and 535, are convincing proof of the presence of Byzantine artists in the city. Then came the Byzantine invasion, and the eighteen years that elapsed between the conquest of Sicily by Belisarius in 535 and the last heroic stand of King Teias against Narses in 553, were years that brought Rome—the centre of this conflict—into the dust, laid her in ruins, and so decimated her population that at one time it was reduced to five hundred citizens, and for forty days the city was tenanted only by animals. The so-called deliverance of Italy by Justinian’s generals from the Goths, who had shown themselves kind masters and protectors of the arts, was productive of greater ruin than the invasions of Alaric’s Visigoths, Attila’s Huns, or Genseric’s Vandals.

When a remnant of the scattered and decimated population crept back to their fallen city, they found themselves led, by the force of circumstances, to place themselves under the rule of a Byzantine governor whom they and the popes were obliged to welcome as the only protection against barbarian invasions. Rome had not been for nearly two centuries the capital of Italy, nor was it as yet the seat of a papacy politically powerful, so that its re-population was slow and accomplished largely by means of foreign blood—of Greeks and Orientals, and even of Northerners. Such had been the mortality that the senatorial class had ceased to exist. All traditions were broken. Men were no longer called by name after the elaborate Roman fashion, but merely by their given Christian name, after the Greek manner,

<sup>24</sup> I should qualify this statement by referring to some earlier instances of churches dedicated to Eastern Saints. Such was the church of St. Mennas, on the Ostian Way, founded in the IV or V century by a corporation of Alexandrians, and the church of St. Phokas, of whom Asterius, Bishop of Amasea, asserts that he was as much venerated in Rome as Peter and Paul.

and this casting away of so universal and radical a custom is a type of the complete change in every sphere. The centuries that followed, though they witnessed a gradual recuperation and knitting together, were in many ways grievous, and only at the close of the VIII century did Rome raise her head again. It was irksome to be under the yoke of servants of an emperor of another land. This feeling is well expressed in the "Lament for Rome," written at the time, and which begins with the lines:

Nobilibus quondam fueras constructa patronis  
Subdita nunc servis, heu male, Roma ruis  
Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges  
Cessit et ad Græcos nomen honorque tuus.

This Byzantine domination, after being initiated by Belisarius and Narses, was firmly established when, in answer to the prayers of Italians, the Emperor Tiberius decided to send an exarch and an army. It favored the introduction into the waste places of Rome of a large share of Byzantine elements. We have had in Rome itself a recent example of what may then have taken place on a smaller scale. When the Italians entered Rome in 1870, and made it their capital, there came an inrushing flood of North Italians and Tuscans, especially men filling government offices, the military and hangers-on of various types; and this invasion amounted, after a short while, to nearly one hundred thousand persons. Although we cannot estimate even approximately the population of Rome in the second half of the VI century, the new Byzantine element must have been strongly felt. This element consisted of a considerable number of dignitaries belonging to the Byzantine bureaucracy and military system, a garrison which developed into an important institution—the Roman army—, a considerable body of monks, a large element in the higher clergy, and a nucleus of average citizens engaged in commerce, trade, industry or letters, filling a good-sized quarter of Rome on and about the Aventine, along the banks of the Tiber. During the two centuries that followed Rome was without civic prosperity and it may be said that its activity was in great part centred in the great monasteries that arose on all sides, of which the more important seem to have been Greek. The immediate introduc-

tion and lasting preponderance of Greek names in contemporary documents prove the sweeping nature of the new immigration. The incoming Greeks were not, after a while, regarded as strangers, as were the Lombards, Saxons and Franks, but as merely another branch of the Roman stock.

It must be realized that at this time (vi cent.) the Byzantine civilization was and for several centuries remained the only complete Christian civilization. What was there outside of Byzantium but the rude Franks, Lombards, Saxons and Germans? Where in Italy, if we except the Benedictine order, can we find during the vii or viii centuries a centre of culture that does not call Byzantium its fountain head?

In studying the vicissitudes of Rome after the middle of the vi century, it would be convenient to take it up from different points of view, such as (1) the monasteries; (2) the papacy and secular clergy; (3) the ecclesiastical and civil administration; (4) church liturgy and music; (5) language and customs of the people; (6) the arts and industries. In view of the limited space at my disposal, only suggestive and typical facts will be mentioned. The subject deserves a volume. It has never been touched. Gregorovius, in his voluminous history of Mediæval Rome, otherwise so admirable and complete, seems to be quite unconscious of the facts of Rome's Byzantine transformation.

#### BYZANTINE MONASTERIES AND CHURCHES IN ROME.

The Byzantine monasteries in Rome were the most prominent centres of Byzantine influence—in religion, in society, in literature, in art, and on the people at large. They extend in an unbroken line from the vi to the xi and xii centuries. Their study naturally precedes everything else. The churches attached to them and those which were built and decorated for the use of the Greek colony naturally gave employment to Greek artists, as is proved by the remaining works themselves, and thus became the models for native artists. In the East the monasteries had acquired such enormous power during the vi and vii centuries as to excite the jealousy of the emperors. The Eastern monks soon acquired a strong foothold in Rome, certainly as early as the middle of the vi century; and it is evident that a goodly pro-



portion, possibly even a large majority, of the monasteries established in the city from that time up to the close of the IX century were inhabited by Greek monks. Among the earliest were the Syrians (who furnished also several popes), with whom the monastic life had become a passion, and whose monasteries were spread over the entire East, from the desert of Scete in Egypt to the establishments of the Nestorian monasteries in China and India.

*Monast. Boetianum.*—According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, one of these Syrian Nestorian monasteries in Rome was broken up by Pope Donus (676–78), the monks being distributed among other monasteries: *Hic repperit in urbe Roma, in monasterio qui appellatur Boetiana nestorianitas monachos Syros, quos per diversa monasteria divisit; in quo praedicto monasterio monachos Romanos instituit.*<sup>25</sup>

*S. Maria in Schola Graeca.*—It is probable that Greek monks were placed at S. Maria in Schola Graeca or Graecorum, called afterwards S. Maria in Cosmedin, before the close of the century. Its foundation in the VI century is confirmed by some early sculptured decoration of its period. It was early given to the great association of Greeks established in this quarter of the city and became their main centre. It is mentioned soon among the diaconal churches and by the Einsiedeln itinerary in the VIII century,<sup>26</sup> and near it arose the building which was the place of assembly of the *schola*, the place where were taught ecclesiastical music, the copying and illuminating of MSS. and the practice of various other arts. In 752 it was given to Greeks who had fled from the iconoclastic persecutions.

*S. Saba.*—The church and monastery of S. Saba were built for some Greek Basilian monks who came from the monastery of this name in Jerusalem at some time during the VI century, probably after the middle, as S. Saba was not canonized until 532. In the *Beschreibung Roms* (293), it is asserted to have been built for the Greek monks by Pope Honorius in c. 630. It was called *Cella nova*, probably to distinguish it from the parent monastery in

<sup>25</sup> Were we tempted by its name, *monasterium Boetianum* or *Boetiana*, to refer the foundation of this monastery to the family of the great Boethius, the advent of the Syrian monks might be placed early in the VI century at the latest.

<sup>26</sup> *Inde per scholam graecorum; ibi in sinistra ecclesia graecorum.* Cf. ARMELINI, *Le chiese di Roma*, pp. 391–2.

Jerusalem. Johannes Diaconus mentions it in his life of Gregory the Great. Its importance is evident from the *Liber Pontificalis*: in 767 the usurping pope Constantine, and the leader of his party, the Chartularius Gratianus, were both relegated to this monastery. Cattaneo<sup>27</sup> finds archaeological reasons, independent of historic data, for assigning the original church to this date in the style of a capital in the left aisle, of the proto-Byzantine style, similar to the one at S. Maria in Cosmedin. The monastery was given to the Order of Cluny in 1144.

*S. Cesareo in Palatio.*—Interesting although perhaps the smallest of the early Greek establishments was the church of S. Cesareo on the Palatine, called *Ecclesia S. Cesarii in Palatio*, which is known to have been the imperial Byzantine chapel of the city as early as 603, in the time of Phokas. Here were placed the images of the emperors sent from Constantinople, and attached to it was one of the earliest Greek monasteries of Rome, called *Monasterium S. Cesarii graecorum*. Here the Basilian monk S. Saba the younger received hospitality when he came to Rome (989-91), sent by the patrician of Amalfi to Otho III. The choice of this church for the honor of receiving the imperial portraits was probably made in the time of Narses, and the occupation of the monastery by Greek monks was contemporary if not earlier.<sup>28</sup>

*S. Anastasia.*—Passing from the monasteries to the churches of the VI century, we borrow from the Abbé Duchesne what he says of S. Anastasia. The church of S. Anastasia, at the foot of the Palatine Hill, where it approaches the Tiber, was so close to the port that it was the first church met with by travellers coming from Africa, Constantinople and Alexandria, and before the foundation of S. Giorgio in Velabro in the VII century was the church of the Velabrum. In the earliest list of Roman churches known it takes third rank, immediately after the Lateran and Liberian basilicas—the two cathedrals of Rome. Beside this, it was the custom from before the time of Gregory the Great to celebrate three masses on Christmas day at S. Maria Maggiore, S. Anasta-

<sup>27</sup> *L'architettura in Italia dal VI° al XI° secolo*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>28</sup> DUCHESNE, *Bulletin Critique*, 1885, Oct. 15, pp. 417-24; cf. DE ROSSI, *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, 1884-85, p. 143.

sia and S. Peter. The importance thus given in many ways to this church is due to the fact, that it was long the only and remained the principal church of the central quarter of Rome, of the Palatin, the Forum, the Port and its vicinity. The churches that were one by one founded in this quarter since the VI century were always chapels, especially diaconal chapels, and no other presbyterial *titulus* comes to compete with the old *titulus Anastasia*. It remains the parish church of the entire quarter. Now, this quarter attained to great importance during the Byzantine period. Not only did its population increase to the detriment of the other parts of the city, but it included the Palatine. The former imperial palace was the seat of the government, the residence of the staff, the centre of the *exercitus Romanus*, that military body which, after the disappearance of the Senate, reëstablished an aristocracy at Rome. Doubtless in the palace itself there was a sort of official sanctuary, the church of S. *Cesareo*, in which the images of the emperors were preserved. But S. *Cesareo* was but a chapel. The real parish church of the Palatin was S. Anastasia. This church was placed, so to speak, at the junction of the seven ecclesiastical regions of Rome. Hence the crosses carried in procession on the great *station* days—one for each region—were kept at S. Anastasia. Both S. *Cesareo* and S. Anastasia were privileged beyond all other Roman churches (except S. Maria Maggiore and the Lateran) as starting-places for the great processions. Their decay began with the fall of the Byzantine power, and is evident in IX century.<sup>20</sup>

*S. Giorgio in Velabro*.—The role of the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro is well defined by M. Battifol. This church, founded late in the VI or early in the VII century, is closely connected with the rise of Byzantine influence in Rome, for S. George was the most popular of all Eastern saints. Not only while Rome is governed by a Byzantine duke and the Holy See occupied by Greek Popes, but even later, when distracted between the Byzantine and the Carolingian powers, the Roman Church continued to exercise favor and hospitality to the Greeks (see Jaffé, No. 3091, 3323), and, for instance, to ask protection of the *dromones* of Basil I. Under Zacharias (741–52) the head of S. George

<sup>20</sup> L. DUCHESNE, *Mélanges de l'Ec. Française*, VII (1887), 5, p. 387 seq.

was brought to the Lateran, and was transported with great pomp to his diaconal church in the Velabrum. Henceforth its influence and riches increase immensely. Doubtless it is not the seat of the *schola Graccorum* (like S. Maria in Cosmedin), neither is it a diaconal church officiated by Greek monks (like S. Anastasia)—at least there is no proof of this; but the Greeks were buried here as in a church belonging to them, and it had as its rector an archpriest who was at a certain time Greek. This is proved by a small group of Byzantine inscriptions still existing there. Two lengthy inscriptions compose the epitaph, which was written for himself by the archpriest John, born under the pontificate of John VIII (872–82), giving an account of his life.<sup>30</sup>

*S. Andrea ad Clivum Scauri.*—The monastery of S. Andrea, founded by Gregory the Great in his paternal house on the *Clivus Scauri*,<sup>31</sup> was within the Greek quarter, and from the beginning contained Greek monks. The name of its first abbot was Hilarion (c. 570), certainly a Greek. Its third abbot, Maximianus, became bishop of Syracuse—a sign of probable Greek nationality—and died in 595. When Johannes Diaconus wrote his life of Gregory it was in Greek hands, because he calls its abbot by the title *hegumen*. This was under Pope John VIII (872–82). This monastery was long among the most important and influential in Rome.

*S. Lucia de Renatis and the domus Arsicia.*—The monastery called *Herenatis*, or more usually *de Renatis*, received a colony of Greek monks before 649, as Duchesne notes in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* (II, p. 39). It appears soon to have acquired considerable importance. When the Council in *Trullo* was held in Constantinople in 680–81, one of the Roman delegates was George, a priest and monk of the monastery of Renas or Renatus. It is interesting to note that the emperor had asked Pope Agatho to send to the Council four abbots, one from each of four Byzantine monasteries (*ἐκ δὲ τεσσάρων Βυζαντίων μοναστηρίων ἐξ ἐκάστου μοναστηρίου ἁββάδας τέσσαρας*). The pope sent Theo-

<sup>30</sup> *Inscriptions Byzantines de Saint Georges au Velabre*, par M. PIERRE BATTIFOL, in *Mélanges de l'Ec. Fr.*, VII (1887), 5, 419.

<sup>31</sup> CARINI, *Cronichetta inedita del monastero di S. Andrea ad clivum scauri*, published in *Il Muratori*, II, p. 5.

phanes, the *higumen* of the monastery of Baias in Sicily, George of the monastery of Renas in Rome, and Conon and Stephen, priests and monks of the monastery of the *domus Arsicia*, also in Rome. These passages are interesting, as showing that the Byzantine monasteries in Rome were noted as early as the VII century. I am unable to say whether the monastery called *domus Arsicia* is to be identified with any one of the monasteries of my list.

*S. Erasmo.*—Pope Adeodatus (672-6) appears to have been a monk in the monastery of S. Erasmus on the Coelian. He added many buildings to it, and placed there a congregation of monks and an abbot.<sup>32</sup> That these were Greeks appears from several passages of the *Liber Pontificalis*, e. g., in the life of Leo III (795-816), where the *higumen* is mentioned. It was taken from the Greek monks by Leo VII, who gave it to the Benedictine monastery of Subiaco by a bull of 938.

There are several Greek monasteries the date of whose foundation is not known, but as there is no record of their existence until the VIII century, it is safe to assume that they were among those founded in consequence of the wholesale monastic emigration which took place from the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire during this century, as a result of the repressive policy of the Byzantine emperors.

The Syrian Pope Gregory III (731-41) built, according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, two monasteries: that of SS. John the Evangelist and the Baptist, and S. Pancratius near the Lateran, and that of SS. Stephen Laurentius and Chrysogonus, by S. Crisogono in Trastevere. It is not certain whether they were occupied at first by Benedictines or Basilians.

*SS. Stephen and Sylvester.*—Paul II (757-68) erected the monastery of SS. Stephen and Silvester (S. Silvestro in Capite), with a magnificent church, and filled it with Greek monks. The words used are interesting, as they connect the Greek monks with church music: *ubi et monachorum congregationem constituens, grece*

<sup>32</sup> *Liber Pontif.* (in vita Adeodati): *Sed et in monasterio sancti Erasmi situm in Celio monte, in quo concrevisse visus est predictus sanctissimus vir, multa nova edificia augmentavit, et multa ibi praedia acquisivit, et in vita sua abbatem et congregationem ibidem instituit.*

*modulationis psalmodie cymorium esse decrevit, atque Deo . . . laudes statuit persolvendas.* In the further passages in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where an account is given of the establishments of Greek monks, the perpetual chanting is mentioned in every case but one; whereas this is not so generally done when monasteries are spoken of that were not peopled by Greeks.<sup>33</sup> This question relating to church music is one to which reference will be made in greater detail at a later point.

*Other Monasteries of VIII Century.*—*S. Gregorio, S. Prisca, S. Balbina.*—Other monasteries were founded in this century. The report of the Roman council under Pope Stephen III (768–72) mentions the Greek monasteries as a class when it describes the opening session: *presente . . . pontifice . . . considentibus . . . episcopis . . . adsante etiam Anastasio archidiacono et cunctis religiosi Dei famulis tam latinorum monasteriorum vel graecorum cymoriorum atque proceribus ecclesiae et cuncto clero, optimatibus etiam militiae seu cuncti exercitus et onestorum civium et cunctae generalitatis populo.* This passage is a good example of the enumeration of the different classes into which the population of Rome was divided.

Among these establishments is the nunnery of *S. Maria in Campo Martio*,<sup>34</sup> also called *S. Gregorio*, because it possessed the body of S. Gregory Nazianzen, brought to Rome in the VIII century. In the XII century Cencius Camerarius calls it *S. Gregorio graecorum*. This nunnery was probably important for the production of ecclesiastical vestments and hangings in Oriental style, such as were then so popular everywhere, especially in Rome. Other monasteries were those of (1) *S. Prisca* on the Aventine, which was taken from the Greeks in 1062; (2) *S. Balbina*, whose prior had the privilege of reading the gospel in Greek in the papal chapel on Resurrection day.

*S. Prassede.*—In the following century the most important foundation was that of the sumptuous establishment erected next to the church of S. Prassede by Pope Paschal I (817–24). The *Liber Pontificalis* says: *Construxit in eodem loco a fundamentis ceno-*

<sup>33</sup> One doubtful case is that of S. Cecilia, where Pope Paschal placed a congregation of monks *pro quotidianis laudibus . . . die noctuque omnipotenti Domino decantandis*. We cannot tell whether these were Greek or Benedictine monks.

<sup>34</sup> Gregorovius says (II, 234) that it was founded in 750 by fugitives from Constantinople.

bium quod et nomine sanctae Praeclis virginis titularit; in quo et sanctam graecorum congregationem adgregans, quae die noctuque grece modulationis psalmodie laudes . . . sedule persolverent introduxit. This monastery was given to regular canons by Anastasius IV in c. 1153. In this passage emphasis is again laid on the singing of the Greek monks according to the *Greek psalmody*.

*SS. Stephen and Cassianus.*—Shortly afterward Pope Leo IV (847–55), in restoring the monastery of SS. Stephen and Cassianus at S. Lorenzo, filled it with Greek monks, also spoken of as proficient in psalmody, in the text that relates this fact.<sup>35</sup>

*Other Monasteries of ix and x centuries.*—The cessation of the Iconoclastic persecutions did not put an end to the incoming of Greek monks; and this was owing partly to the fact that restrictive laws were still in force against monasticism in the East, and partly to the influx due to the Greek colonization of Southern Italy, which affected even Rome. One special persecution was that of Leo the Armenian (813–20). *S. Anastasius* had a monastery in Greek hands. *SS. Alessio e Bonifacio* was one of the latest important foundations. In 977 it was handed over by Pope Benedict VII to the exiled Sergios, metropolitan of Damascus, and in it were both Basilian and Benedictine monks, some of whom became very famous missionaries.

*Grottaferrata.*—Greatest of all these later foundations was the famous Basilian monastery founded at the gates of Rome, in *Grottaferrata*, by S. Nilus of Calabria. This man, the most noted of all the Greek monks of Southern Italy, after a journey broken at more than one place, notably near Monte Cassino, where he and his followers staid for some time, came to Grottaferrata in the last years of the x century. This monastery soon became a centre of learning and art, exerting great influence upon the culture of Rome during the xi and xii centuries.

This enumeration and classification of Greek monasteries is doubtless far from complete. It is sufficient, however, to revolutionize our preconceived ideas and to serve as a basis for a study of the influence of Byzantium in different branches of culture,

<sup>35</sup> *Liber Pont.* (in vit. Leonis): *In quo etiam sanctae conversationis plures greco constituit monachos genere qui Deo omnipotenti eodemque martyri die noctuque laudes persolverent.*



such as art, music, literature, liturgy, ecclesiastical and social organization and popular customs and traditions.

*Byzantine Art in the Monasteries—Sculptures and Textiles.*—Besides having an evident part in the formation of the school of Roman music these monasteries assisted in the spread of Byzantine art in Italy. The great majority of Byzantine artists were monks and there were undoubtedly many artists in these Greek monasteries in Rome as early as the VI century, and they constantly increased in numbers. The legend of the coming to Rome of artist-monks from the East at the time of the Iconoclastic persecution after 726 and again in the IX century, takes on a far greater importance than Professor Springer believes. They were no ephemeral visitors, for they came to monasteries already established by their compatriots and doubtless also founded new establishments, for they found themselves in an atmosphere in many ways congenial. There can be hardly a doubt that to the Greek artist-monks in such monasteries as those of Rome and Ravenna, we owe the execution, for example, of the immense number of works of decorative sculpture, first carefully described by Cattaneo and shown to be in a style that prevailed from one end of Italy to the other. Rome and its province is full of traces of this decoration which give us some idea of its great extent before it was ruthlessly destroyed in the XII and XIII centuries to make way for the new ornamentation in mosaic. I hear that there has been an exhibition in Rome during the winter entirely devoted to this style of decoration, and that it has proved a revelation even to archaeologists. Examples in Rome may be seen at S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-mura, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, S. Clemente, S. Agnese, S. Sabina, S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Prassede, S. Giorgio in Velabro, SS. Quattro Coronati and other churches. Some of these works show the hand of Greek artists, others the inferior style of their Italian pupils. For a detailed study I can only refer to Cattaneo's oft-cited work. The earliest examples, dating from the sixth century, at S. Clemente, S. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. Saba, have been already noticed on pp. 173-176. The style prevailed in Rome and its territory until the XI century. It had been preceded by what may be called the metal style; for the

*Liber Pontificalis* sufficiently proves that the main early decoration of the choirs in Roman churches was of silver and silver gilt whether in the form of statues, bas-reliefs or simply architraves and balusters. This continued even after the introduction of the carved marble parapets, which seem not to have become really prevalent until the pontificate of Leo III (795) at the close of the VIII century, although they were already in common use in the churches attached to Greek monasteries.

Cattaneo has brought forward convincing proof that this style of relief marble decoration was not a native Italian style in its origin. It has been asserted even since the publication of this book that the style is distinctly an Italian growth, an invention of Lombard artists. This position has been taken by a very well known and talented writer in the field of Byzantine archæology, Strzygowski, especially in a paper published in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* for 1892, so that it seems necessary here to refer briefly to the proofs of its Byzantine origin. In the first place, its appearance in Italy dates from the first half of the VI century, before the Lombards had originated any art forms, while Italy was so full of desolation, war and famine, that no creation of art forms seems possible in any part of it, and it appeared at a time when Byzantine influence was beginning very strongly to show itself in other ways also. Its centres of production from this time forward are precisely the centres of Byzantine influence in Italy—Ravenna, Rome, Venice, etc. What is thus shown to be probable becomes, however, a certainty, when we inquire whether any such works are to be found in Greece, Constantinople and other parts of the Byzantine empire. Sculptured slabs in this style are illustrated in Salzenberg,<sup>36</sup> Pulgher,<sup>37</sup> Cattaneo<sup>38</sup> and Brockhaus<sup>39</sup> from the following places; Churches of S. Theodore, (Mefa Djamissi), SS. Peter and Marc (Atik Mustapha Pasha Djamissi), of the Theotokos and S. Irene at Constantinople; the monasteries of Iwiron, Lawra, Xeropotamu and others at Mt. Athos; the Cathedral at Athens and the church of Daphne near Athens, etc. The strong resemblance between all these

<sup>36</sup> *Alt-Christliche Baudenkmäler von Konstantinopel.*

<sup>37</sup> *Les anciennes Églises Byzantines de Constantinople*, pls. VI, VIII, XIV.

<sup>38</sup> *L'Architettura in Italia*, etc., pp. 251-255.

<sup>39</sup> *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, pl. 7, 8.

works and those executed throughout Italy during the same period, is sufficient to prove a common origin, and that this origin is to be sought for in the Orient is a fact that requires no argumentation, as we can find all the constituent elements in Byzantine churches of the sixth century. The two examples of one of the types selected for illustration in *Figures 23 and 24* are as closely alike as two works by different hands could well be, and yet one is at Mt. Athos and the other in Venice, and both date shortly before 1000 A. D. They illustrate also the interesting fact that when the passage was made in decorative work from the



FIG. 23.—SLAB FROM FOUNTAIN AT LAWRA, MT. ATHOS. (c. 1000 A. D.)  
(FROM BROCKHAUS, *Die Kunst in dem Athos-Kloster*, PL. 8.)

system in marble low relief to that of flat mosaic inlay, the designs of the old style were often retained: it was largely a change of material, not of form. This can be seen by an examination of the combinations of circles on the Salerno pulpit (PLATE XV), which are typical of a large part of the decoration of the Italian Schools.

Beside these sculptures there still exist in Rome a multitude of frescoes and mosaics executed between the VII and XIII centuries which are also attributable to the Greek monastic artists and their school; but the question is so complex as to exclude it

from these pages, and it is, besides, a point that is too generally conceded to require further demonstration. One of the most interesting examples is the series of frescoes of the VIII cent. recently uncovered in the church of *S. Maria in Schola Græca*. This church was the most important monument executed under the productive pontificate of Hadrian I (772-95), and the frescoes are thoroughly Byzantine, but no adequate detailed general treatment of these frescoes has yet appeared. There is, however, one class of works of art that has almost entirely disappeared but which formed the largest part of the papal gifts to churches

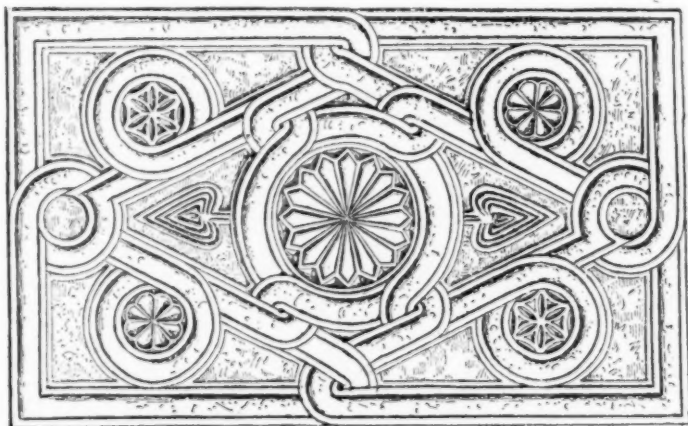


FIG. 24.—SLAB FROM THE CRYPT OF SAN MARCO, VENICE.  
(FROM CATTANEO, *L'architettura in Italia*, p. 248: c. 829 OF 976 A. D.)

and monasteries during the VIII and IX centuries. These are the textiles, enumerated in the Lives of the Popes (*Liber Pontificalis*) with an accuracy that shows the descriptions to be taken from contemporary records. There are thousands of veils, hangings, altar-fronts, priestly robes of every variety of technique, usually ornamented with elaborate figured or decorative compositions. The technical terms employed in the careful descriptions of these works are Greek, and in some cases have long puzzled the sagacity of commentators: such terms are *stauracin*, *periclysin*, *chryso-clavus*, *holosericus*, *spanoclystus*, *blattin*, *storax*, etc.

It is conceded that these textiles are of Byzantine and Oriental origin and manufacture; <sup>40</sup> the few remaining works of this period in various European museums prove this <sup>41</sup> and we know that Europe did not free herself from dependence upon Byzantium until the XI and XII centuries by the establishment of native manufactures, as at Palermo, in Flanders, and in Northern France. <sup>42</sup>

There are several objections to the current theory that all the textiles mentioned in the Lives of the Popes were importations from the East. The first is their immense number—reaching into the thousands—which can be realized only by reading the text of the *Liber Pontificalis* in the lives of such popes as Leo III (795–816), and Paschal I (817–24). The second is the multitude of Greek technical terms so accurately used by the Roman writer in describing them. The third is the use of the word *fecit* instead of *obtulit* in connection with the donation of almost each piece. Now, it is well known how commonly *fecit* was used in the place of *fieri fecit*, of the patron who ordered the execution of a work of art. It seems as if the text of the *Liber Pontificalis*, by using this expression, lends itself to the interpretation that, as a rule, these gifts were made by the Pope's order. Otherwise is it probable that the hangings for the churches, to be placed between the columns, and the *vela* for the altars, would be of exactly the right size; that the subjects embroidered or woven on them should so often reproduce the legend of the patron saint of the church or legends special to the Roman church (*e. g.* under Leo III); that there should be portraits and names of the Papal donor and other inscriptions in Latin (*e. g.* Leo IV)? <sup>43</sup> It would seem natural to conclude that they were then quite generally made to order not in Constantinople but in some one of the Greek monasteries in Rome. Were this a fact we can see how readily the workmen, being in Rome, could furnish for the

<sup>40</sup> GREGOROVIVS, *Gesch. d. Stadt Rom. im M. A.* II.

<sup>41</sup> CAHIER & MARTIN, *Mélanges d'archéologie*; LABARTE, *Les arts industriels au Moyen Age*, *v. g.* II, p. 420; MÜNTZ, *La Tapisserie*, p. 80; and especially MICHEL, *Recherches sur les étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent pendant le Moyen-Age*, pp. 29–53.

<sup>42</sup> MÜNTZ, pp. 83–96; MICHEL, *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> *Vestem habentem tabulas chrysoclavas tres, et historiam Dominicæ passionis legentem: "Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur," etc.*

Papal registers lists of the pieces made, in which, being familiar with Latin, as workmen in Constantinople could not be, they transcribed accurately in Latin the Greek terms descriptive of each. It is precisely at the time of the persecution of the Iconoclasts that the great production of such work begins in Rome,<sup>44</sup> and the fact that a large proportion of them at this time were ornamented with sacred compositions would almost exclude the possibility of their having been made in the East, where such a violation of the new artistic law against sacred compositions was so severely punished.<sup>45</sup>

It is not likely that the embroidered and woven stuffs were the only works executed by the Byzantine monks among the various classes of objects of art given by the Popes to the Roman churches. The vases and vessels of gold and silver could hardly have been the product of decaying Italian art. From one end of Italy to the other there can be gathered examples of such works known from documents to have been imported during these centuries from the East or sent as gifts from Byzantine emperors to popes and monasteries.

To summarize, it seems that the Greek monasteries, which formed so preponderating a part of Roman life in the Early Mid-

<sup>44</sup> Under the reign of Hadrian (795). There is a tradition that the Greek nuns who, nearly a half century before, came and occupied the monastery of S. Maria in Campo Martio or S. Gregorio, did work in embroidery and needlework for the churches.

<sup>45</sup> Since writing these lines I find that GREGOROVIVS has suggested (*Gesch. d. Stadt Rom. in M.*, II, 378) the probability that many of these works were made in Rome by artists called from the East. He believes this to be so especially in the case of Pope Hadrian. After denying the Byzantine character of his mosaics, he continues: "Aber jene zahllosen Prachtteppiche mit eingestickten Historien möchten Byzantinischen Ursprungs sein. Ihre Kunst stammte aus dem Orient, und wurde in Byzanz und Alexandria eifrig betrieben. Von dort kamen wahrscheinlich Künstler nach Rom, für die Päpste zu arbeiten, und während der Bilderverfolgung waren ihrer viele nach Italien ausgewandert. Die Namen der rikamirten Gewänder und Decken zeigen sowohl eine grosse Mannigfaltigkeit ihres Stoffs und ihrer Technik, als die Herkunft aus dem byzantinischen Reiche. Die vielen Bezeichnungen für Teppiche oder vela sind oft griechisch, oft geradezu nach ihrem Vaterland, Alexandria, Tyrus, Byzanz und Rhodus benannt," etc. LABARTE also (*Arts Industr.*, IV, p. 334), speaking of the Greek Pope Zacharias (741-52), and his gift of a gold altar-cloth to S. Peter, says: "Il ne s'agit pas là d'une étoffe achetée, mais bien d'une étoffe fabriquée à Rome, dans laquelle était tissé un sujet. L'on ne peut douter . . . que le travail ne fût sorti de la main des tisserands grecs" whom the Pope called to Rome.

dle Ages, while exercising only a limited influence in the domain of architectural construction,<sup>45</sup> held complete sway in architectural decoration and all decorative sculpture, in fresco and mosaic painting, in woven and embroidered artistic textiles and probably in works of gold and silver. That their sway remained uninterrupted is shown by the continuity of the style of art which they established and by their continued possession of many of their monasteries until the XI and XII centuries. New Greek monasteries of importance were even founded toward the close of the period. Such was that established in about 1000 at Grottaferrata near Rome, by S. Nilus, who had already been at the head of a number of Greek monasteries in Calabria, a region that continued until a much later period to swarm with Greek monks and hermits. We shall now prove that to such establishments as that at Grottaferrata Rome owed the introduction of the style of mosaic decoration in the XII century, thus protracting up to the close of the Middle Ages the debt that it owed to Byzantium.

#### MOSAIC DECORATION.

The Byzantine system of decoration in marble low relief which, as we have already seen, dominated Italy up to the XI century, was suddenly succeeded and replaced during the XII century by a magnificent system of mosaic decoration, mainly employed by the schools of Sicily, Southern Italy and Rome. So great was the sweep of renovation that almost everywhere, in order to make way for it, the old Byzantine sculptured plaques were torn down and often turned about, the smooth side being used for the mosaic inlay.<sup>46</sup> Not only were all the church pavements made of marble mosaics and the walls often decorated with mosaic friezes of minute glass and marble cubes, but the principal works of art within the churches were executed in this new style. Such were the pulpits, paschal candlesticks, altar canopies, choir-screens, altar-fronts, episcopal thrones, choir-seats and

<sup>45</sup> The galleries in the church of S. Lorenzo-outside-the-walls, S. Agnese and SS. Quattro Coronati, which are unique in Rome, appear to be due to the uniform Byzantine use of such galleries: compare the Byzantine basilicas in Thessalonica.

<sup>46</sup> Examples of this fact have come to light during recent years in restoring, for example, the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome and the cathedral of Ferentino in the province.



sepulchral monuments. The similarity of the design in all these works does not exclude a harmonious but endless variety of form. The very poetry of ornament is embodied in these works. Renaissance decoration appears cold and monotonous beside this wonderful association of form and color—its forms governed by an unwearying inventiveness, its colors chosen with the same matchless sensitiveness that give their special beauty to all Oriental works, from the wall decorations of S. Sophia to the modern Persian rug. We become hypnotized by their mazes of the intricate polygonal design, in which, as M. Gayet<sup>47</sup> says, in somewhat fantastic language, "image succeeds image, passing and re-passing like phantoms, with immutable, implacable, immovable features as figures of a dream," drawn from the essence of things, and arousing sensations comparable only to those that music gives us.

While the old and the new systems appear to be so distinct—even opposite—it is interesting to again emphasize the fact that we find in the mosaic work the same geometric combinations and at times the same animal and floral forms as in the earlier relief work. The best-known of such works have been those in and about Rome, and the style has even received the name of "Cosmati" work, from a group of Roman artists that employed it. The universally accepted belief in their Roman origin—in which I shared until about three years ago—has not, I believe, been publicly opposed, although Mr. Henry Stevenson has expressed himself to me as opposed to it. In order to show the general interest of the question, I shall again refer to the words of the German critic, Prof. Springer,<sup>48</sup> who believes this system of decoration to be Roman, and uses this conviction as a decisive argument against the continuance of Byzantine influence in Sicily after the Norman conquest. This influence, he says, was thrown off in Sicily soon after the Arab yoke was removed. The mosaics of Monreale<sup>49</sup> show this reaction; sculpture developed with entire inde-

<sup>47</sup> *L'Art Arabe*, p. 305.

<sup>48</sup> Introduction to KONDAKOFF, *Hist. de l'Art Byzantin*, I, pp. 13-14.

<sup>49</sup> Prof. Springer quotes the inscription of a *Romanus marmorarius* in the cloister Monreale as if the artist were a member of the Roman school. But Romanus is here the name of the artist, not of the city, and is so good a Byzantine name that we need not hesitate to regard him as a Greek. Cf., Emperor Romanus Lecapenus.

pendence. And this is proved by the absolute identity of the marble incrustations in the pavements and on the walls of Palermo and of Rome, showing the strength of Roman influence and tradition over Southern Italy, and that it soon succeeds in expelling the Byzantine intrusion. Thus far Professor Springer. Now, the real conclusion to be drawn is quite different. The identity between Palermo and Rome is due to the strength and influence not of Roman, but of Byzantine art, from which both schools sprang. Sicily and the Neapolitan province on the one hand, and the Roman school on the other, produced their earliest monuments at about the same time; Rome being a few years in advance, but the Southern provinces being the first to develop the style elaborately. The mosaic plaques signed by the Roman artist *Paulus* date from about 1100, and are the earliest known: but when the Sicilian churches were erected, a couple of decades later, their rich and perfected ornamentation quite surpasses the contemporary work in the Roman province. There is also an important difference between the two schools caused by the introduction of Mohammedan influence from Egypt. As we shall see, the Copts and their Mohammedan scholars in Egypt during the XI and XII centuries borrowed this same system of decoration from Byzantine art, and developed its geometric design with a bewildering elaboration undreamed of by the Byzantine artists. The Mohammedan share in the Norman art of Sicily is being slowly recognized: the pointed arch universal in its churches, the painted ceilings, the stalactite decoration, all come from this source. From the same source come many of the characteristic designs of the mosaic incrustations, modifying the simpler Byzantine original forms. The Roman school did not feel this, or rather it felt it much later and in an indirect way through contact with the Southern school of Campania.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the adoption of this new form of decoration in the South and in Rome, so far from signaling the triumph of Rome over Byzantium, should be regarded merely as the replacing of one style of Byzantine decoration by another—the mosaics in place of the marble reliefs. The main difference between the two processes lies in the greater inventiveness of Egyptian and Italian artists in varying the Byzantine

originals, as compared with the slavishness of their predecessors, the sculptors of the VI-XI centuries.

I shall now attempt to prove these statements by examining, first, the mosaic pavements and then the decorative vertical mosaics on the walls and church furniture.

*Pavements.*—The pavements of this style are probably the most beautiful ever executed, and appear to have been adopted by Italian artists slightly earlier than the various kinds of similar vertical decoration. There is a perfect similarity in style between the South Italian and the Roman schools, for in both cases the derivation is from Byzantine originals without Mohammedan admixture. Almost every church of early foundation in Rome must have received one during the wholesale rebuilding of the city during the XII and XIII centuries after Robert Guiscard's destructive attack. There still remain in Rome alone many more than a hundred such pavements, and they are to be found through its entire province, from the borders of Tuscany and Umbria to the neighborhood of Naples. The South has no series that can compare with this array. In these pavements we find almost every variety of simply geometrical designs that are to be found on the vertical mosaics of the Roman school, on walls and other architectural features, such as doorways, cornices, columns, architraves, as well as on the various articles of church furniture. It would seem as if the pavements served as models for the vertical decoration. What makes this the more probable is that in pavements it was necessary to use natural marbles for the sake of solidity, and only in very exceptional cases were any artificial cubes employed. So in the earliest vertical decoration marbles alone are used; but gradually, during the latter half of the XII century, the artificial cubes, smaller, more accurate, and of more varied tones, drove out the marble cubes, and the artists were then enabled to give far greater delicacy to their design. And here there comes to be a difference between the Roman and the South Italian schools, the former retaining the geometrical forms of the pavements, while the South Italian added two strong elements—floral designs that are due to Byzantium, and a more intricate polygonal combination of interminable interwoven lines due to Mohammedan development of a Byzantine original form.

All the Sicilian pavements belong, I believe, to the XII century—though they have been restored in the same style as late as the Renaissance; those in the cathedrals and churches of the Neapolitan and Roman provinces extend from the close of the XI to the XIII century. In Rome it would be difficult to point to a pavement that could be proved to be earlier than the time of Pascal II, (1099–1118), although it is not impossible that some may exist dating from the years immediately preceding his pontificate. It would appear, therefore, that, at some time in the XI century nearer its close than its beginning, this system of mosaic pavements, consisting of strips, circles or polygons of fine marbles surrounded by mosaic bands, was either invented in Italy or introduced from elsewhere.

The style of mosaic pavements in vogue up to the XI century in Italy was the *opus tessellatum*, composed of small marble cubes of equal size. In them were introduced compartments filled with decorated or figured compositions with real or fanciful animals and with allegorical, legendary or religious subjects. M. Müntz, whose short but full sketch<sup>50</sup> is the most complete treatise on this subject, gives a chronological series of these works extending from the IV or V century to the XII century, when the style ceased to be generally used, being replaced by the pavements in *opus vermiculatum*, mistakenly called *opus Alexandrinum*, which are now in question.

The earliest Italian series of these pavements in “opus Alexandrinum,” with which I am acquainted, are those in Venice. They are also so remarkable for beauty and variety of coloring and for exquisite gradation of tone as to place them artistically in a class by themselves. There are a number still remaining in Venice, but the most beautiful and important are those of San Marco and the cathedrals of Murano and Torcello. Authorities vary as to the age of the pavement of San Marco, some attributing it in great part to the basilica begun in 998, while others regard it as a work of the XII century, begun only after the wall-mosaics of the domical church (1040–70) had been well advanced. I am inclined to agree with the official report of the Commission of 1858, which

<sup>50</sup> Published in the *Revue Archéologique*, and republished with the sub-title, *Les pavements historiques du IV<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* in his *Études iconographiques et archéologiques*, 1887.

holds that the main pavement follows the lines of what must have been the earlier basilica, is cut off at the apse, and does not extend down to the arms of the Greek cross. It must therefore be earlier than the total reconstruction of 1040-70, which changed the church from a Roman basilica to a Greek cross. The cathedral of Murano was commenced in 998, but its mosaic pavement was not completed until 1140, as is proved by an inscription. At Torcello the cathedral was rebuilt from the foundations in 1008, and the pavement was begun at that time. All three are therefore works of the XI and early XII centuries. The patterns of the San Marco pavement can be seen reproduced in Ongania's great work. In each of these works we see a lingering trace of the old *opus tessellatum* in stray representations of doves, stags or other animals and birds, but the style is otherwise purely geometric, and the predominant form is the circle, around which are grouped subsidiary forms. A comparison with De Rossi's *Saggi di pavimenti antichi delle chiese di Roma*, and with the outlines in Serradifalco's *Duomo di Monreale*, and Dehli and Chamberlin's *Norman Monuments of Palermo*, will show substantial agreement in design between the three groups. The main difference lies in the fact that the Venetian artists did not care for the great circles or parallelograms of porphyry and serpentine which formed the core of the system in the other two schools, but formed their circles of a large number of radiating sections of beautifully veined and shaded marbles. In Rome and the South the effects lie in a contrast of light and shade, very distinct outlines, with preponderance of dark and solid slabs set in framework of smaller marbles. Whereas in Venice the choice of veined and delicately-colored marbles produces an effect of delicious blending. That the other style was also known in Venice is shown, for example, by a fragment exactly like a thousand to be found in Rome, now affixed to the further great pier on the north side. It will be seen later that both the rigid geometric and the delicately shaded pavements are Byzantine.

Evidently there is a common origin for all three schools, and as we must look for it in Byzantine monuments, we naturally turn to the many Greek monasteries in Southern Italy and in Rome. One of the most famous of these establishments during

the later Middle Ages was the Basilian monastery at GROTTA-FERRATA, already mentioned as founded by the famous St. Nilus during the last years of the x century. Of its Byzantine figured mosaics I wrote some years ago in the *Gazette archéologique* (1883). The church itself was finished and consecrated in 1025 and restored before the middle of the xii century. The ancient mosaic pavement is of the same type as those of the Roman school: there is every reason for attributing it to the period of the construction of the church in 1025. Later in the century, in 1066, took place the famous advent to the great Benedictine centre at MONTE CASSINO of artists from Constantinople. Among these are especially mentioned those skilled in making mosaic pavements, *peritos in arte musiarum et quadratarum* who *totius ecclesiae pavimentum lapidum varietate consternerent*.<sup>51</sup> Comm. G. B. de Rossi is my authority for stating that a piece of this original pavement of the church at Monte Cassino still remains, I believe in the sacristy, and that it is of the same style as was afterwards used in Rome. The chronicler of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino states that the abbot established a special mosaic atelier in the monastery, placing a number of young men under the instruction of the mosaicists from Constantinople, in order to spread this branch of art and prevent it from dying out in Italy. Thus undoubtedly was the crusade in favor of mosaic decoration started. These two works at Grottaferrata and Monte Cassino are, then, earlier than any others known in Italy. If we realize the breadth of Benedictine influence spreading from its capital at Monte Cassino, combined with the Basilian influence radiating from Grot-

<sup>51</sup> *Legatos interea Constantinopolim ad locandos artifices destinavit, peritos utique in arte musiarum et quadratarum, ex quibus videlicet alii absidam et arcum atque vestibulum maioris basilicæ musivo comerent, alii vero totius ecclesiae pavimentum diversorum lapidum varietate consternerent. Quarum artium tunc ei destinati magistri cuius perfectionis extiterint, in eorum est operibus estimari, cum et in musivo animatas fere autumet se quisque figuras et quæque virentia cernere, et in marmoribus omnigenum colorum flores pulchra putet diversitate vernare. Et quoniam artium istarum ingenium a quingentis et ultra iam annis magistra Latinitas intermiserat, et studio huius inspirante et cooperante Deo, nostro hoc tempore recuperare promeruit, ne sane id ultra Italiam deperiret studuit vir totius prudentiæ plerosque de monasterii pueris diligenter eisdem artibus erudiri. Non tamen de his tantum, sed et de omnibus artificibus quaecumque ex auro vel argento, ære, ferro, vitro, ebore, ligno, gipso, vel lapide patrari possunt, studiosissimos prorsus artifices de suis sibi paravit.* This text is from the contemporary chronicle entitled *LEONIS, Chronica Monasterii Cassinensis*, l. III, 27. Ed. Wattenbach in *Mon. Germ. Hist.* p. 718.

taferrata and other principal Greek establishments, we have an ample explanation of the rapid adoption of the newly introduced style in this part of Italy. If now we can find in the Byzantine Orient examples of this style contemporary or earlier in date, there would no longer be the least doubt.

In a number of the old Coptic churches in CAIRO there are pavements and friezes and other decorative work in marble mosaic of this style; and although it is extremely difficult to give any exact dates, Mr. Butler, who describes some examples in his *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, assigns them to the x and xi centuries. No description of these pavements has been published, to my knowledge, but I have it on the authority of an observing friend that their style is exactly that of the Roman School. The early churches on Mt. ATHOS, whose foundation dates from the late x and the course of the xi century, although to a large extent reconstructed and redecorated, retain their mosaic pavements, which are regarded by those who have studied them carefully to belong to the original structures. We reproduce (PL. XIII) from Didron's *Annales archéologiques* (VOL. XXI), a section of pavement from beneath the dome of the main church in the monastery of Iviron. The design is precisely such as is found in the churches of Southern Italy and Rome, and is not of the Venetian type. On the same plate (XIII, 2) we have given a slab from S. Prassede, Rome, to show the close similarity in design. Brockhaus<sup>52</sup> dates the Iviron pavement in about 976, a date which is proved beyond a doubt by the inscription on a bronze ring that encircles the central porphyry slab and records the construction of the church. Its importance warrants giving it here in full: Ἐγὼ ἐστερέωσα τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς, καὶ ἰς (εἰς) τὸν αἰῶνα οὐ σαλευθήσεται. Γεώργιος μοναχὸς ὁ Ἰβηρ καὶ κτήτωρ: "I have made fast its pillars, and it will not be shaken to all eternity. The monk George, the Ivirite and Founder." This George was a contemporary of St. Athanasios, the friend of the Emperor Nikephoros Phokas and the real founder of Mt. Athos, who began the monastery of Lawra in 963 A. D. The monastery of Iviron was founded in 976 by Joannes Tornikios and his Iberian relatives, Euthymios and Georgios, with the help of the Empress Theophano. Contemporary with

<sup>52</sup> HEINRICH BROCKHAUS, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, 1891.



the pavement of Iviron is that of the church of the monastery of Vatopedi, founded after 972, at the request of St. Athanasios by three inhabitants of Adrianople—Athanasios, Nikolaos and Antonios. The pavement of the church of Xenophontos belongs apparently to the first half of the XI century; that of the church of Chilandari to about 1197. These mosaic pavements were, it would seem, used in all the churches erected on Mt. Athos during the period of its early bloom (X–XII centuries). As was commonly the case at Rome a great cross divided the pavement into four main sections, each with its series of porphyry circles. Although there was certainly a current established at this time between Mt. Athos and Italy, and artists may have gone to the peninsula from the sacred mount, it must be remembered that at the beginning there was no special artistic school at Mt. Athos: it did not develop until the XII and XIII centuries. The artistic style of its early monuments may, therefore, be taken to be that of Constantinople. St. Athanasios was the confessor and intimate friend of that remarkable man, Nikephoros Phokas, before and after his accession to the throne. The emperor himself urged on and assisted in the building of the first monastery erected by St. Athanasios, that of Lawra. It is interesting to note that the reorganizing of the Byzantine domain in Southern Italy, the foundation there of several important cities peopled with colonists from Greece, the multiplication of Greek monasteries, are all due to this same emperor, Nikephoros Phokas. It may be that on this occasion, with the coming of Greek artists, the new style of mosaic work was first introduced.

It is, therefore, in the great constructions of the capital, Constantinople, that we must seek for the earliest pavements of this style, the predecessors and prototypes of those of Mt. Athos and of Italy. Unfortunately the few early fragments of pavements that still exist are either in a slightly different style, in so far as they have been described and illustrated, or are of uncertain date, and not having visited Constantinople, I cannot speak from personal observation. But at this point documentary evidence is at hand, so abundant and specific as to leave no doubt as to the fact that the great monuments of the Macedonian dynasty, from the IX to the XI century, were paved in this style. Our main

source is Constantine Porphyrogenetos, who wrote in the x century a description of the buildings erected by his grandfather, Basil I, and of the various other parts of the imperial palace. From his description we gather that in the ix century, in the times of Theophilos (829-42) and Basil I (867-86), pavements were undergoing a transformation in Constantinople, passing from the figured and tessellated to the geometric style. But before this time we can trace its beginning as far back as the time of Justinian. In the vestibule of the imperial palace, called Chalke, was a mosaic pavement in whose centre was a large circle of porphyry called τὸ ὀμφάλιον, upon which certain public acts or ceremonies were performed.<sup>53</sup> This is, with one exception, the earliest instance that I can cite of such a disk with a significance attached to it. A possibly earlier instance occurs in Agnellus' (ix century) lives of the archbishops of Ravenna, in the life of Ursus, who built the cathedral in about 400 A. D. He is said to have been buried under the porphyry slab on which the archbishops are accustomed to stand when they say mass—*pirfireticum lapidem, ubi pontifex stat quando missam canit*. It is interesting to note that the *omphalia* or porphyry disks became the most important element in the later geometric pavements. They were used in the pavements of the imperial palace, being often placed in front of the thrones, and upon them the emperors stood during certain ceremonies. When the emperor appeared in the Heliakon he stood on the porphyry circle and the patricians, generals and senators prostrated themselves before him. In other cases the procession of advancing nobles would stoop and kiss each circle as it approached the emperor. This importance given to the porphyry disks was not confined to civil structures; it passed, as we have seen above, into the ceremonial of the Roman Church. They were the most sacred spots in the churches. It is noticeable that such disks are always to be found along the central nave of the churches of the xi, xii and xiii centuries. The part they played can be imagined from one example. The *Ordo Romanus*<sup>54</sup> gives the order for the ceremonies connected with the coronation of the emperors by the

<sup>53</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De aedificiis*.

<sup>54</sup> *Monum. German. hist., Leges II*, p. 187. Text of the *Coronatio Romana*, as preserved by Cencius Camerarius in the *Liber Censuum*.

popes in the basilica of St. Peter. After both emperor and pope have entered the church, the pope takes his seat by the central disk, surrounded by the clergy, and before him are the emperor with his court, all seated about the disk, while the emperor makes his confession of faith. The Bishop of Porto, standing in the centre of the disk, then pronounces a prayer. The ceremony of anointing the emperor, and the giving to him the ring, crown and sceptre, took place at the altar of S. Maurice, and the principal persons present stand each in the centre of a disk—namely, the emperor, the empress and six bishops. It is especially stated in the *Ordo*, which apparently dates from the XII century, that this is done according to ancient usage—a usage probably dating in Rome to the X century, when it may have been borrowed from Byzantium to do service in the coronation of Otho I.<sup>55</sup>

When, in the VIII century, Torcello was built up, the new cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin, was decorated with a pavement in the centre of which was a disk which for its size and beauty was so famous that the neighboring quarter of the town was called from it, quarter of the "rota."<sup>56</sup>

The only part remaining of the ancient pavement of the nave of St. Sophia contains a number of these disks grouped, as they were later, around a large central circle of granite. The church of St. John, in Constantinople, which dates from the fifth century, has a pavement partly in the geometric style, illustrated in Salsenberg: its date is probably later than that of the construction of the church. Emperor Justinianos Rhinotmeros (✚ 711) made a pavement for the gallery which he added to the palace, and it is known to have been based upon a combination of large and small disks. In the next century, under Theophilos and Basil I, the art of mosaic pavements was developed to a point of great beauty and magnificence. We may confidently assert, from a study of the texts, that the famous New Basilica erected by

<sup>55</sup> I would call attention to the use of such porphyry disks in the pavements of Roman buildings, such as the baths of Caracalla, although I cannot say whether in pagan times any corresponding significance was attached to them.

<sup>56</sup> The *Chronicon Gradense*, (XI cent.), says: *Basilicam fundaverunt in honore sancte Dei genetricis et Virginis Marie pulcherrimo pavimento ornatum, cuius medium pulchritudine sua rota quedam admodum decorabat, unde omnis habitatio qui ipsi ecclesiae proxima erat ab Aurio tribuno Rota appellata fuit.*

Basil I received a pavement analogous in style but superior in beauty to those executed later at Mt. Athos and in Italy. Its artists, however, did not exclude animal and floral forms, but worked them into the geometric design; and a relic of this custom is to be found later in the pavements at Venice already described. The pavement of the throne room of the imperial palace, made from the designs of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos († 959) himself, was probably the most exquisite of any in its gradations of colors and variety of design, and probably nothing in the West resembles it except the pavements of Venice.<sup>67</sup> It may have been surpassed by the pavement of the church of the Palace built by Basil the Macedonian (867-86), which is described in glowing terms by his contemporary Photius, and his grandson Constantine, who say that it seems covered with silk brocades and purple carpets, so embellished is it with the thousand shades of the marble plaques that form it, by the varied aspect of its mosaic bands which form the borders of these plaques, by the exquisite grouping of its compartments, etc. For fuller details of the various pavements in the halls and churches of the palace consult Labarte, *Le Palais impérial*, and the original texts of Constantine's work on ceremonial and his description of the palace in his life of Basil.

This demonstration of the Byzantine origin of the Italian mediaeval geometric pavements will seem all the more complete when supported by proofs of a similar origin for the vertical mosaic decoration of walls, columns, friezes and all articles of church furniture.

*Vertical Mosaics.*—The origin of vertical mosaic decoration is slightly later and its patterns appear to have been derived from those of the pavements. In fact, in the earliest examples of the Roman School the design would give no clue as to which category the work belonged to. In the beginning only natural marbles were used, as in the pavements. This was the case in the Roman and South Italian as well as in the Coptico-Mohammedan School of Egypt. Very soon the Byzantine School began to introduce the glass and composition cubes that were in use in figured mo-

<sup>67</sup> The descriptions are given in Photius' address and in Constantine Porphyrogenetos.

saics, and the Italian Schools followed this example at the close of the XII and the beginning of the XIII centuries. The Egyptian Schools retained the natural marbles and they also, in their love of geometric design, transferred the same pattern to other materials—to inlaid relief and open work in wood, ivory and metal, to tiles and plaster. A special branch of this general system of decoration was developed by the Moorish art of Spain and became the favorite ornament at Granada, Seville and Cordova. By this Moorish School the design, though almost identical, was carried out in enamelled tiles and plaster. While in Italy this style declined before 1300 and disappeared shortly after, in Spain it flourished through the XIV century and in Egypt even later.

The Roman School appears, to the best of our knowledge, to have produced the earliest examples in Italy. The shrine of S. Casianus in the Cathedral of Narni appears to me a primitive work and one of great interest. The first work, however, that can be dated is an altar-front in the Cathedral of Ferentino, executed under Paschal II (1099-1013) by Paulus, the founder of the earliest of the famous family schools of Roman artists, who were to adopt the new style, develop it and make it their greatest title to fame during a period of two centuries.

About contemporary with this work are some fragments of the decoration of the church of the Greek monastery at Grottaferrata near Rome, whose pavement was mentioned above: one of these fragments, with a Greek inscription, has the date 1132. The earliest examples in Sicily and Southern Italy are not earlier than 1120 to 1130; such as the decoration of the Cappella Palatina and the Martorana at Palermo, the Cathedral of Cefalu, and, a few years later, the Cathedrals of Salerno and Ravello.

While the first Roman monuments are somewhat earlier in date than the earliest of the Southern Schools, it is important to note that the Roman School shows at first extreme simplicity and derives the designs of its vertical mosaics entirely from the pavements, developing slowly and without external influence into a richer and more varied style with the introduction of glass cubes and an increased proportion of elaborate designs in connection with the simple large slabs of marble which were at first the chief part of the ornamentation.

On the other hand the Southern Schools show only exceptionally a similar independent development. In Sicily the first monuments are the most beautiful and elaborate, and those executed later in the XII century are less perfect: the style appears to be borrowed bodily from some other school and land. Now, there were but three art influences then at work in Sicily—the Northern (Lombard and Norman)—which we may dismiss in this connection—the Byzantine and the Mohammedan. In the sphere of mosaics Byzantine influence reigned supreme in figured compositions. Did it also furnish the models for decorative mosaics? It appears to have done so for the church pavements, but on the other hand we are compelled to recognize the Mohammedan influence in the decorative mosaics which cover the lower parts of the walls in all the Sicilian churches, and in long bands surround the doors and rise to the ceiling (as at Monreale). Decorative work of a similar but less elaborate sort is to be found in Byzantine monuments. An example of this is the frieze that encircles the interior of the Church of the Saviour (Kachrije Djami) at

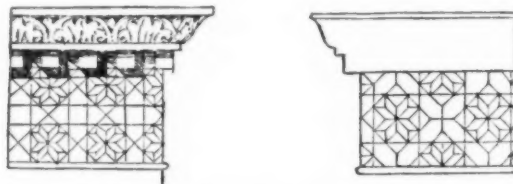


FIG. 25.—FROM BAND OF MOSAIC DECORATION ENCIRCLING INTERIOR OF CH. OF SAVIOUR (KACHRIJE DJAMI), CONSTANTINOPLE.

Constantinople (FIG. 25). This resembles in its simplicity the style of the Roman rather than that of the South Italian School. It dates either from the construction of the church in the XI century or its restoration during the XIII century. But while such decoration held but a small place in the Byzantine art to which its invention is due, it received a wonderful expansion at the hands of Mohammedan art, especially in Egypt. The Christian Copts, who always formed the bulk of the artists of Egypt under Mohammedan rule, developed the intricacies of geometrical decoration with passionate love and unwearying patience. It was marble mosaic that furnished them their best medium of expres-

sion in this branch of art. Mr. Butler's book on *Coptic Churches* has disclosed the existence of a number of works belonging, according to him, to the IX, X and XI centuries, before the style came into use in Italy at all. The recently published description of the Churches of Egypt, written in the XII century, appears to confirm the dates. Such early works are: the pulpit at the church of Abu-Sifain at Cairo, the apsidal decoration of the large and small chapels of Al-Muallakat at Cairo, described by Mr. Butler and attributed by him to about the X century. This early date for the Coptic mosaics seems confirmed not only by their primitive character but by the fact that Mohammedan buildings of Egypt of the close of the X and the early part of the XI, built and decorated by Coptic artists, show the beginnings of the same geometric style, which was developed into so wonderfully beautiful and complex a system during the succeeding centuries. I have no space here to do more than refer to this Egyptian School. Its works can be studied in special publications.<sup>50</sup> Can the derivation of the Italian from the Oriental style be satisfactorily proved from the monuments themselves?

Studying the question broadly, the Roman and Neapolitan Schools appear to have been founded under the sole influence of Byzantium; the Sicilian School under that of Mohammedan and Coptic Egypt; and, some time after, the Sicilian School exercised a transforming influence upon the Neapolitan, and a very slight influence upon the Roman School, toward the close of the XII century.

I shall first bring forward some proofs of the derivation of the Roman School from Byzantine originals. We have already seen that this was clearly the case in the mosaic pavements. The most interesting examples, proving the fact to be equally true for vertical mosaics, are in the Church of St. Lucia at Gaeta, and have hitherto been unnoticed and unpublished. This church, which earlier went by another name, is a basilica of early date consisting of a nave and side-aisles separated by round arches resting upon ancient columns and capitals, nearly all of them misfits. The pavement appears to have been originally of early mosaic work and only a small section of it remains in the choir. The

<sup>50</sup> PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments du Caire*. GAYET, *L'Art Arabe*, &c.



church has been barbarously mutilated, so that only a small part of its primitive mosaic decoration remains. Against the wall which closes the side aisles, beside the main apse, is placed on both sides a parapet of marble inlaid with marble mosaics and divided into square compartments each containing a figure carved in high relief in white marble (PLATE XIV). This parapet was cut through, in order to make room for the hideous marble altar placed at the end of each aisle, and what remains has suffered badly from dampness. The work is very characteristic; it is in fact unique and of extremely primitive character. In the section which is preserved in the left aisle, we see in the upper square the eagle of St. John, its head surrounded by a circular nimbus and holding in its claws a book. In the compartment below it is the figure of a Siren, half fish and half woman, who holds in both hands her emblem—a small fish. In the section placed on the right-hand side aisle, the upper compartment contains the angel of St. Matthew and below is a winged griffin. Two compartments without sculpture still remain in part on either side of these sculptured squares. It is evident that before mutilation this parapet contained other sculptured compartments at least equal in number to those remaining, with the lion of St. Mark and the bull of St. Luke and other symbols corresponding to the Siren and the Griffin. The first peculiarity of this work that strikes anyone familiar with the decorative system of the Italian Schools is that the sculpture does not belong to any of the early Italian Schools, but has all the marked characteristics of the Byzantine style of the close of the x and the first half of the xi century. The ivory boxes and book covers, the works in gold, silver and enamel produced during this period by Greek artists, form the only base of comparison with this work. The angel of St. Matthew has all the refinement of type and softness of technique characteristic of the Byzantine works of this date. At this time nothing but the crudest and most barbarous works were being executed in Italy. This date is confirmed by several other data. In the first place the church is known to have been completed in about 1020 and it is probable that the decoration was finished at that date; then also it must be remembered that the city of Gaeta, one of the most important seaports of Southern Italy, was for a number of centuries

under Byzantine dominion and partly colonized by Greeks; that even when its consuls became practically independent, the connection with the empire of the East was not wholly broken. The presence of Byzantine artists in the city is proved, among other facts, by the erection of one of the few thoroughly Byzantine domical churches that can be found in Southern Italy outside of Calabria, the church of St. Giuseppe, which is illustrated by Schultz. The old cathedral, according to an inscription of later date, was built by one of these consuls named John, who is called in this inscription, Imperial Patrician, son of Docivilis, the consul (*hypatos*). The date of this ruler is the beginning of the x century.

Further proofs of early date and of Byzantine origin can be discovered in the workmanship of the parapet. In the first place, there is the uncertainty of a beginner in the use of colors and design, while the general scheme is excellent. The combinations of color are not yet effected with that degree of skill in the contrast of color and the variety of form, which are soon attained at a later date with greater practice. The colors are dull and they are principally red and green with the occasional use of yellow. It is interesting to note, every now and then, the use of occasional artificial cubes of enamel, especially of blue, gold, red and light green. I think that this introduction of glass and enamel cubes at so early a period, is a further proof of Byzantine workmanship. The use of decorative sculpture and a raised carved frame for the mosaic compartments is also a peculiarity unknown to native Italian artists and practised by Byzantine art. In the right-hand side aisle there remains a section (three sides) of the lectern of the pulpit of the church, of marble inlaid with mosaics of the same technique and general design as the balustrade and with similar occasional mixture of artificial cubes; here also the general design is excellent and the details crude.

The importance of Gaeta from its position and its history is evident; it lay upon the borderland between the Roman and the Southern Schools. Its history made it a centre of Byzantine influences and such works as those decorating the church of St. Lucia may easily have inspired both the Roman and the Southern schools with their first desire to adopt this style of decoration.

We will now examine the monuments of the Southern School for similar traces and will give in Plate xv a view of one of the finest groups,—the large pulpit, the paschal candlestick and part of the pulpit staircase and screen at Salerno. In studying the design of the magnificent series of mosaic works of the XII and XIII centuries at Sessa, Salerno, Amalfi and Ravello, and in comparing them with Sicilian works, one of the first steps is to divide the themes of decoration into classes. There appear to be two main divisions: (1) a floral design of Byzantine origin consisting of scroll work intermingled with animals and birds; and (2) geometrical designs which in their simplest form were also Byzantine in origin, but in their more elaborate development were thoroughly dependent upon Egypt. There was one decorative motif, which appeared to stand outside of these two classes and to be quite popular, especially in Sicily. It was a frieze of what appeared like battlements ending in a sort of fleur-de-lis, as is shown in Figure 29. I was very much puzzled to interpret this motif and to explain its origin, until I found that it was in universal use in Egypt. Such a battlemented frieze was invented by Coptic and Mohammedan artists as a finish to the exterior of their buildings (Figs. 26, 27). It is employed by them first as an architectural and sculptural form and gradually finds its way as a purely decorative motif into flat surfaced decoration in inlaid marble, stucco and marble relief, *etc.*, (Figs. 28, 29). The architectural derivation is so plain, that as no such architectural ornament can be found in Italian architecture, the Egyptian derivation of the form is incontestible. The Sicilian examples at the Cappella Palatina (Fig. 30) and Monreale (Fig. 31) are far closer to the Egyptian original design: the South Italian imitations, at Salerno, (Fig. 32) for instance, show that the artists are here further from the original source. While it may possibly be argued that the geometrical combinations have been invented by Italian artists without necessarily having recourse to Oriental models, I think that the use of this peculiar and essentially Oriental design in the Sicilian and Southern Italian Schools, while it may seem a small matter in itself, is sufficient to remove any doubt that they were not only inspired from Egypt, but that their style was an absolute importation. A strong confirmation of this lies in the fact

that every geometric combination, no matter how intricate, that can be found in the South Italian and Sicilian Schools, while often absent from the Roman works, can also be found in Egypt.

There are some works of the early Neapolitan School, such as the first pulpit at the Cathedral of Salerno and the pulpit at the monastic church of La Cava, which show what the style of the school was before it was influenced by the Sicilian School. Such



FIG. 26.—STONE BATTLEMENTS OF MOSQUE OF SULTAN HASSAN, CAIRO. (FROM FRANZ PASHA, *Bank. d. Islam*).

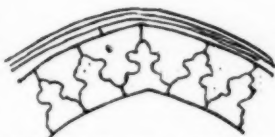


FIG. 28.—FROM ARCH OF MIHRAB IN MARBLE *Opus Sestile*, IN ASHAR MOSQUE, CAIRO.



FIG. 27.—BATTLEMENTS OF MOSQUE OF SULTAN EL-GHURI, CAIRO. (FROM FRANZ PASHA).

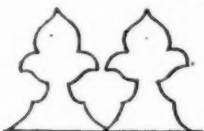


FIG. 29.—INLAID MARBLE DECORATION OF MIHRAB OF THE MUAYYED MOSQUE, CAIRO. (FROM FRANZ PASHA).

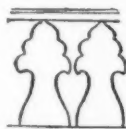


FIG. 30.—FROM MOSAIC DADO IN CAPPELLA PALATINA AT PALERMO.



FIG. 31.—FROM MOSAIC DADO OF CHANCEL AT MONREALE, NEAR PALERMO.



FIG. 32.—FROM MOSAIC PULPIT SCREEN, CATHEDRAL OF SALERNO.

works date from between 1150 to 1170, but as soon as the completion of the first great series of churches in Sicily, left a large number of artists—Arabs, Copts and Greeks—free to prosecute other labors, they undoubtedly were called or sent native pupils to different parts of the southern mainland and revolutionized the more simple style then prevalent. All works executed after 1190–1200 are in the new style.

Recurring to my assertion that the floral designs in vertical mosaics seem to have been of Byzantine origin, I will refer to one description of such decoration in the buildings at Constantinople dating from the IX century. Constantine describes the beautiful mosaic pavement of the Emperor Basil's bed-room, and then says that the lower part of the wall on all sides was covered not with plaques of various marbles, but with cubes of glass of many colors representing varied floral designs. The text of the Monte Cassino chronicle cited on p. 195 (Note 51) lays great stress upon the ability of the mosaicists from Constantinople in executing floral decoration of every variety interspersed with animals, and thus shows how this element of the style acquired a foothold in Italy. Illuminated Byzantine mss. of this and the following centuries are full of this floral scroll work, with birds and animals, and similar work is found on the contemporary ivory boxes and enamels.

Italy was, then, a reflection of the Orient in this branch of mosaic decoration, and it usually fell short of its models; it lost the suppleness, the variety and the softness of Byzantine design, and in the use of geometric patterns to which it confined itself it attained only exceptionally to that perfection which we find in Egypt and in Sicily.

[*To be continued.*]

A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.

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PAPERS OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL  
STUDIES AT ATHENS.

A SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR FROM THE EPAKRIA.

[PLATE XVI.]

In the excavations at Koukounari, in the Attic Epakria, a report of which will be given in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, we had the good fortune to find at the end of the first half-hour of work an important inscription.

This is cut on a *stèle* of Pentelic marble, in letters averaging .006 m. in height. Beta runs up to a height of .008 m., while Omicron is only .004 m. high. The extra height of Beta is doubtless due to the fact that only so could it well be cut without making mere breaks in the place of the two loops.

The *stèle* was inscribed on both sides, but only on the side which we found turned downward and resting on a large threshold, and which is here represented, could anything be read. A few traces of letters on the other side, from which with some probability the word *ois* may be made out, and some price-marks, show that the same subject was treated on that side.

The side here given contains parts of fifty-six lines, although the first line affords only two letters. How much of the stone is broken off above and below cannot be told. At the sides the original edge is preserved, so that we know that the taper of the *stèle* was very slight, giving a breadth at the bottom of the pavement of .49 m. and at the top of .485 m. The length is .60 m. The thickness varies between .10 m. and .06 m. being thinner at the top and toward the right, so that there is a distinct slope toward the right upper corner when the stone is laid on the table for reading. There is a break on the right at the top, leaving a gap which ends with the 21st line, the 22d line being entire at the end. At the 4th line the gap is 1.05 m. wide. Toward the bottom

5	5
10	10
15	15
20	20
25	25
5	5
10	10
15	15
20	20
25	25





of the gap it becomes easy to supply missing letters. On the left side, although the edge of the stone remains, there is a surface break of varying width running down the whole length. It is .06 m. wide at the 7th line, .115 m. at the 47th, .09 m. at the 52d. A maximum of twelve letters is missing where this gap is widest; but as the inscription is not cut *stoichedon*, there is in most cases a choice ranging between nine letters and twelve. The inscribed surface of the stone is .39 m. broad at the 23d line and .40 m. broad at lines 52-54.

A curious feature of the inscription is that it is divided very unevenly into two columns, the right-hand column being about double the width of the left-hand column. Furthermore, the columns overlap somewhat, and some lines look as if they ran continuously across the stone, there being absolutely no intervening space between the last letter of the first column line and the first letter of the second column line.

The right-hand column may practically be read entirely. The left-hand column is more difficult to restore than might be expected with the help afforded by the other column. But even here a good deal may be provisionally supplied. *Ιουβάτω*, in line 50, is especially tantalizing.

*Restorations, Column 1.*

2. *π]ρακτήριος* is used as an epithet of *Τύχη*, Aesch. *Suppl.*, 523.

4 ff. *τρίτης*, which entails the following month names, was suggested by *τετάρτης*, 20. But, as at 27-29 a quarter is omitted in the enumeration, the restoration is not certain. It fills the space, however, better than *δευτέρας*, with the month names of the second quarter.

25. *τρίτη* is given simply as one way of filling the space.

26. '*Ἀπόλλωνι*' is demanded by the space, whereas in 34 there is room only for *Διί* or *τῷ*.

39. *δραμοσύνη* is probable, but we know next to nothing of the connection at this point.

52. *Διὶ Εὐβ]ολαί* would naturally be supplied, except that it would not fill the whole space.

55. '*Ἀθηναία Ἑλλω]τίδι*' seems the only proper restoration.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀποτρόπαιος* as epithet of Apollo, Ar. *Vesp.* 161; Ar. 61; *Plut.* 359, 854.

## Column 2.

5. *μυστηρίων* is corroborated by its connection with *Βοηδρομιώνος*.

13, 15. *οἷς ΔΕΕ* is selected simply as one way of filling up the space.

17. *Γῆ ἐπὶ τῷ* is somewhat crowded, but as *Γῆ* appears in 13 with this epithet, and as she was essentially a mantic divinity (Cf. Aesch. *Eum.*, 2, *τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαίαν*), the reading may well stand. It is also difficult to get a name shorter than *Γῆ*.

19, 20. The difficulty of supplying the five or six missing letters at the end of 19 is increased by the fact that the clear NE at the beginning of 20 seem cut with the point of a knife, mere scratches, while X, given as the next letter, is quite doubtful.

The first line which is really of account (line 2), with the help of line 23, tells us that the demarch of the Marathonians sacrifices something. We soon see that we have a series of offerings to divinities with prices and certain specified dates. All the Attic months except Maimakterion are mentioned.<sup>2</sup> The year is divided into quarters (*τρίμηνοι*). At lines 34 and 40 there is a division of the sacrifices into *τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος, προτέρα δραμοσύνη* and *τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος, ὑστέρα δραμοσύνη*. The word *δραμοσύνη*, so far as I know, is not used elsewhere. It is probably a ritualistic term, and may be translated "course."<sup>3</sup> *τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος* probably means "the alternate year." The "first course" is to begin at once, and the "second course" the next year, and they are to alternate.<sup>4</sup>

The first question in regard to the inscription is whether it is a sacrificial calendar of offerings to be made, or a record of offerings already made. The minute account, descending to such

<sup>2</sup> We have in line 51 the settlement of the date of the festival called Skira, in the month Skirophorion, which calls for a correction of Liddell and Scott (*Lex.*, 7th ed., s. v. *Σκίρα*), and of Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 287 ff., which put it in Pyanepsion.

<sup>3</sup> It is probably derived from *δράω*. With the same right as that by which we have from the stem *ἡπραγῶ* *πράγμα* and *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, we may have from *ἡδρα* *δρα* *δραμοσύνη* as well as *δράμα*.

<sup>4</sup> In the inscription from Cos in *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, ix, p. 328, we have three times (at lines 10, 14 and 22), after one provision for sacrifice, another offering prescribed with the phrase *τὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος*.

details as half obols, and the indicative mode of the verbs, make it look at first sight as if we had one of those accurate Attic accounts of expenditures so well known from the Corpus.<sup>5</sup> But in spite of this there seems no reason to take it as anything else than one of those sacrificial calendars, of which there were a great number at Athens, mentioned by Lysias in the oration against Nicomachus, as well known.<sup>6</sup> Such calendars must have been common enough at every place where sacrifice was made on a large scale. We have several fragments of such calendars from various places. Notable are the following:<sup>7</sup>

Fragments from Myconus, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 373.

Fragments from Cos, *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, vol. ix, p. 323 ff.

*CIA.* i, 4; 5. 533, 534. ii<sup>1</sup>, 610, 631, 632. iii<sup>1</sup>, 77.

*Inscr. in Brit. Mus.*, i, 73.

The general similarity of the whole group makes it difficult to separate any of them as belonging to a different class. The indicative mode is used in the Cos and Myconus calendars, interspersed among the greater bulk of imperatives and infinitives. A sum of twenty drachmas for victims is mentioned in the Myconus calendar, and in *CIA.* ii<sup>1</sup>, 610 and 631, the prices are given with much the same minuteness of detail as here.

In this inscription, ὥς γέγραπται of line 15, looks like a provision to which conformity is to be exacted. Similarly in the Cos calendar stands 'Ρέα οἷς κνεῦσα καὶ ἱερά ὅσσα περ τοῦ Πεδαιγετινίου γέγραπται.

The following is a list of the divinities to whom offerings are made :

Ἀθηναίᾳ Ἑλλωτίδι.

Ἀκάμασιν.

Ἀχαίᾳ.

Γαλίῳ.

Γῆ.

Γῆ ἐγ γύαις.

Γῆ ἐν Κυνοσοῦρᾳ.

Γῆ ἐπὶ τῷ μαντείῳ.

<sup>5</sup> *E. g.*, *CIA.* ii<sup>3</sup>, 835, 836.

<sup>6</sup> *Lys.*, xxx. 17. Θύειν τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῶν κέρβων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J. PROTT, *Fasti Graecorum Sacri*.

Δαίρα.  
 Διὸ ἀνθαλεῖ.  
 Διὸ ὀρίω.  
 Διὸ ὑπάτω.  
 Ἐλευσινία.  
 Ἡρα.  
 Ἡρῶ.  
 Τῶ Ἡρῶ.  
 Ἡρῶ Φηραίω.  
 Ἡρῶ παρὰ τὸ Ἑλλώτιον.  
 Ἡρῶ ἐν . ρασιλείᾳ.  
 Ἡρώϊνη.  
 Ἰόλεω.  
 Κόρη.  
 Κοροτρόφα.  
 Μοίραις.  
 Νεανία.  
 Νύμφα Εὐεῖ.  
 Τελετῇ.  
 Τριτοπατρεῦσι.  
 Ὑττηνίω.  
 Χλόη παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου.  
 ]ολεῖ.  
 ]ουβάτω.  
 ]παρὰ τὸν πύργον.  
 ]παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον.  
 ]παρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον.  
 ]τῶ ἐν Κυνοσούρα.  
 ]ἐν ἀγορᾷ.  
 Ἀπ]οτροπαίω.  
 Π]ρακτηρίω.

It will be seen at once that the main interest of the inscription lies in its large number of interesting and unusual names. Some of them, so far as I have been able to ascertain, do not occur elsewhere. Such are :

Ζεὺς ἀνθαλεύς.  
 Γῇ ἐγ γύαις.

Νεανίας.

Νύμφη Εύς.

Ἡρώς Φηραῖος.

Γάλιος.

Ἀνθαλεύς presents Zeus apparently in the rôle of a farmer, which fits well the rurality in which the whole inscription is steeped. Γῆ ἐγ γύαις, a phrase comparable to Διόνυσος ἐν Λίμναις, is another case in point. Εύς is easily seen to be derived from the Bacchic cry, but who is Νεανίας? Γάλιος and Ἡρώς Φηραῖος are equally obscure. Possibly some light may come on the latter name from the fact that Artemis had the surname Φηραία at Argos and Sicyon.<sup>8</sup> There is also a quaint doubling of some persons. Ἀκάμαντες seems unheard of. Perhaps it is equivalent to Ἀκαμάντιδαι. Τριτοπατρεῖς is less striking, as we have the plural in *CIA.* II<sup>2</sup>, 1062.<sup>9</sup> But Cicero<sup>10</sup> speaks of Tritopatrus as the brother of Dionysus and Eubouleus. Is it possible that Δαφνηφόροι, in line 38, is a similar plural for Apollo and one or more doubles? In that case the dative might be explained on the supposition of the omission of the mention of the victim, as in line 4 after τράπεζα, and in 32 after οἷς, the price is omitted, perhaps by carelessness of the stone-cutter.

Ἑλλωτίς, as an epithet of Athena, has a flavor of antiquity. It carries us back at least as far as the Phœnicians. It was a name of Europa<sup>11</sup> as Ἑλλώτια was the name of a festival in Crete.<sup>12</sup> It was also the old name of Gortyna in Crete.<sup>13</sup> The same may be said of Ὑττήμιος, for Ὑττηνία was the ancient name of the Marathonian Tetrapolis.<sup>14</sup> Ἀχαία, as an epithet of Demeter, the "mourning mother," and Δαίρα, as an epithet of Persephone,<sup>15</sup> are at least rare. The same may also be said of Κουροτρόφος as a substantive, although it is common enough as an epithet of Ge,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> PAUS., II, 23, 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Athen*, IV (1879), p. 287.

<sup>10</sup> *De Nat. Deorum*, III, 53.

<sup>11</sup> *El. Mag.*, s. v. Ἑλλωτίς.

<sup>12</sup> HESYCHIUS, s. v. Ἑλλωτίς.

<sup>13</sup> STEPH. BYZ., s. v. Γόρτυν.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, s. v. Τετράπολις. See W. GURLITT, *De Tetrapoli Attica*.

<sup>15</sup> Persephone appears again under her usual name, Κόρη, and Demeter probably under the name Ἐλευσινία and Χλόη, if not under Κουροτρόφος.

<sup>16</sup> PAUS., I, 22, 3. AR. *Thes.*, 299. SOLON, *Frag.*, 43 (Bergk).

and later, perhaps, of Demeter.<sup>17</sup> In *CIA.* II, 481, line 59, it is indeed used substantively referring to Ge.

The designation *Χλόη παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλον*<sup>18</sup> reminds one of similar designations of locality in the inscription given in *Eph. Arch.*, B'. p. 362: *πρὸς τῷ Μύρμηκι* and *πρὸς τῷ ἀνδροφόνῳ Κώνῳ*. It belongs to a community where everybody knew everybody else.

*Τελετή*, the daughter of Dionysus and Nicaea,<sup>19</sup> is, if not old, an unusual figure.

There is another list of names that is redolent of Marathon. *ὁ δῆμαρχος ὁ Μαραθωνίων*, twice repeated, would be enough. But we have also:

*Τρικόνυθος.*

*Τετραπολεῖς.*

*Τὸ Ἡράκλειον.*

*Ὑττήμιος.*

*Ἐλλωτίς.*

*Ἐν Κυνοσοῦρα.*

*Ἰόλεως.*

The Herakleion is probably the identical Herakleion mentioned by Herodotus (VI, 108, 116) as the place where the Athenians awaited the attack of the Persians. *Ὑττηνία* was, as we have already seen, the ancient name of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The first explanation of the word *Ἐλλωτίς*, given by the scholiast to Pindar, *Ol.* XIII, 56, is *τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην ἐσχηκεῖναι φασὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔλους ἐνθα ἴδρυται*.<sup>20</sup> That *Κυνοσοῦρα* is the point closing in the bay of Marathon on the northeast seems in this connection more than possible. Iolaus is prominent enough in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides, where in the plain of Marathon he defends the persecuted children of

<sup>17</sup> *CIA.* III, 372, 373. Inscriptions on chairs in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens.

<sup>18</sup> *παρὰ* with the acc. in this phrase, and in *παρὰ τὸν πύργον*, *παρὰ τὸ Ἐλλώτιον*, *παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον* and *παρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον*, which are similar examples of designating position, seems to prove that the distinction between *παρὰ* with acc. and *παρὰ* with dat., on which lexicographers are fond of insisting, is somewhat fanciful.

<sup>19</sup> NONNUS, XLVIII, 886. See *Τελετή* on a relief in Bötticher, *Baukultus der Hellenen*, Fig. 48. Athenian Central Museum, No. 1390.

<sup>20</sup> *Et. Mag.*, s. v. *Ἐλλωτίς*.



Heracles. In fact, that plain was so associated with Heracles<sup>21</sup> and his train that, according to the scholiast to Soph. *O. C.* 701, the Spartans saved the Tetrapolis in their invasions of Attica during the Peloponnesian War, διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας. The temptation is strong to bring παρὰ τὸν πύργον also into connection with the foundations in the middle of the plain of Marathon now known as the πύργος. But it is better not to weaken a strong case with mere possibilities.

Was our stone, then, set up originally in the Marathonian plain and afterwards brought up to the place where we found it? At first glance it almost seems as if it must be so. And yet so strong is the presumption that a large *stele* remains where it is set up, that it seems necessary to account if possible for its original presence here. Perhaps Milchhöfer's theory, that here lay Hecale,<sup>22</sup> is correct. In that case we have a centre for sacrifice for all the demes lying round about. For Plutarch (*Thes.*, XIV.) says: Ἐθνον γὰρ Ἐκαλήσιον οἱ περίξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἐκάλη Διὶ καὶ τὴν Ἐκάλην ἐτίμων. This case of other demes sharing in the sacrifices of the deme of Hecale is characterized thus by Stengel in Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 3, p. 83: "Eine seltene Ausnahme ist es dass andere ganze Demeen sich betheiligen." Now, if any demes were to share sacrifices with a deme that lay at Koukounari, the most natural candidate for such communion was the Marathonian Tetrapolis. It is just about two hours' walk from either the northern or the southern part of the Marathonian plain to this point. In fact, from Vrana it is not more than an hour and a half. The inscription itself is singularly tantalizing on the point of locality. Line 2 says that the demarch of the Marathonians is to sacrifice ἐν—but just what we wish to know is broken off. Again, in line 23, when we think the same chance is coming again, the phraseology is changed just at the critical point, and it

<sup>21</sup> PAUS. I, 32, 4. Μαραθῶνιοι φάμενοι πρώτους Ἑλλήνων σφίσις Ἡρακλέα θεονομισθῆναι. The association of Heracles and Athene Hellotis suggests that Heracles, who came to Athens with such popularity in early times as to have several temples, and to become the prominent figure in the old poros gable sculptures, came from Marathon, where he was brought to shore by the Phenicians. This is quite as likely as an advent from Corinth.

<sup>22</sup> *Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 21 f. For a contrary view see LOEPER, *Mith.*, 1892, p. 384 f.

is now *θύει Ἡρῶ ἐν*. What is still more disappointing is that the name which follows is an entirely unknown one, *·ρασιλεία*, with one letter lacking at the beginning (perhaps *Φρασιλεία*).

Our *stèle* does indeed contain allusions to some sacrifices that were actually performed in the Tetrapolis. *Τρικορνθοί*, in line 54, must be taken as a locative, since the datives of the second declension throughout the inscription end in *ω*.<sup>23</sup> But where there was a great central point for sacrifices for the neighbors, there might well be set up a general record of sacrifices to be made, including other places than this. It may be that duplicates of this *stèle* were set up at other places near by. Would that we had found the heading!

It is true that our *stèle* does not even name Hecale, but we have only a part of the original bulk of the inscription, and it must, I think, be conceded that Milchhöfer's identification has gained greatly by our discovery of three more reliefs<sup>24</sup> in addition to the two which he had already found at the same place.

Besides, this place, in spite of the objections of Loeper (*l. c.*), is the natural last halting-place on the direct road from Athens to Marathon, the natural scene of Theseus' taking his last refreshment from the nymph Hecale before descending into the plain to meet the Marathonian bull.<sup>25</sup>

If this identification be accepted, we get a very natural explanation of the Heroine who is so often referred to in the inscription. She might well be Hecale. The Hero without an epithet might then be Theseus. If, however, we seek our hero in the Marathonian plain, we are embarrassed by the multitude of candidates. The eponymous hero Marathon, Heracles, Echelaus, or even others of the Marathonomachoi, might claim the honor.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For *ω* used as a dative ending along with *ῶι*, see CAUER, *Delectus*, No. 138, line 16: *ἐπὶ Κηφισῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι*. This is, to be sure, not Attic, but Eubœan. But see MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Inscr.*, § 21, 11. In regard to the place, it is striking that at Trikorynthos, the especial place of refuge for the Heracleidae (Diod. Sic., iv. 57), Hera, the great enemy of Heracles, should be worshipped. The reconciliation must have been complete.

<sup>24</sup> One of the reliefs has a group that might be considered to be Hecale welcoming Theseus. From the joined hands of the two larger figures seems to proceed downward something like a club, while a smaller figure of an adorante stands by. We noticed the club before we thought of this application of the relief.

<sup>25</sup> PLUT., *Thes.* xiv.

<sup>26</sup> PAUS., i, 32, 4, 5.

We need exercise no violence to exclude this inscription from a Marathonian *provenance*, for if it comes from Marathon it is an important document in the somewhat obscure history of the Tetrapolis. Of considerable interest in this connection is the allusion in line 39 to Euboulus as archon for the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis. This corroborates the inference drawn by Lolling from an inscription found at Marathon, and published in the *Mittheilungen* for 1878, p. 259 ff. From the fact that a certain Lysanias of *Trikorynthos* is there spoken of as archon for the Tetrapolis, Lolling concludes that an organization of these four demes was kept up for religious purposes long after the merging of all old independent communities into a general state.<sup>27</sup>

This leads us to the question of the date of our inscription. When we came, in our first attempts at reading the stone, to this mention of the archonship of Euboulus, we thought we had a reference to the well known Attic archon and a fixed date, 345-44 B. C. We were quite as much surprised as gratified at this, for the other *indicia* seemed to point to an earlier date. It was only by supposing language to be more conservative in a rural district than at Athens that we could reconcile these with so late a date. It was not so much the particular forms of the letters that led us to the impression that the stone belonged to the first half of the fourth century as the general appearance and the orthography.  $\Lambda$  and  $\Sigma$ , with their outside bars oblique rather than perpendicular and horizontal, are less significant than the small  $\circ$  and the  $\Pi$  with its bottom angle not coming quite down to the lower level of the line. These all, however, and the absence of ornamentation, point to an early date, to which the absence of *stoichedon* writing is no objection.

But more specific is the testimony of the orthography. The genitives in the second declension generally end in  $\sigma$ , although we have  $\text{Μειδῶλου}$  in line 49 and  $\text{Ἰμενου}$  in line 25.<sup>28</sup> We have also  $\chi\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\chi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in 45 and 50. In 52  $\text{ἰολεῖ}$  is probably for  $\text{Βουλεῖ}$  or  $\text{Εὐβουλεῖ}$ .  $\text{Κοροτρόφος}$  is used six times, while the form

<sup>27</sup> He also adduces *CIA.* II, 602, 603 as evidence of a similar organization for the Mesogaea.

<sup>28</sup>  $\text{ἐναντοῦ}$ , in line 14, looks like the stonecutter's error for  $\text{ἐναντόν}$ , as  $\text{ἐκαστον}$  precedes.  $-\nu\sigma$  in 22 is not quite sure; but a genitive here would match an apparent gen. pl.  $-\omega\sigma$  in 28.

Κουροτρόφος is used only twice. This indicates a date before rather than after 360 B. C.<sup>29</sup> The *ou* in κύνουσα, as well as the inconsistency in Κουροτρόφος, might modify the certainty of this judgment somewhat.

The genuine diphthong *ou* appears also as *o* in βός, which is used five times, while βούς appears only four times. This phenomenon is noted as occurring in many cases during 440-357 B. C.<sup>30</sup>

The following is a list of objects for which money is expended, and the various sums :

αἶξ.	Δ††
βός.	} Π ΔΔΔΔ
βούς.	
βούς κύνουσα.	Π ΔΔΔΔ
κριός.	Δ††
οἶς.	Δ†† and Δ†
οἶς κύνουσα.	ΔΠ† and ΔΠ
τράγος παμμέλας.	ΔΠ
ὄς κύνουσα.	ΔΔ
χοῖρος.	†††
θήλεα ?	Δ†
ἀλφίτων ἐκτεύς.	
οἶνο χός.	No charge.
τράπεζα.	†
ιερώσυνα.	† to Π††IC
φρέατος.	Π†
Δαφνηφόροις.	Π††
τὰ ώραία.	No charge.
σπυλῖα.	ΔΔΔΔ

The offerings are for the most part the usual sacrificial animals, the most common being the sheep, which occurs thirty-one times; and in one case (line 36) three sheep are offered at once. Besides this, the ram is mentioned six times, and once, in line 27, is followed by θήλεα<sup>31</sup> instead of the ordinary word οἶς. This makes of sheep, male and female, thirty-eight examples.

<sup>29</sup> MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Inschr.*, p. 21, § 11 (c.), 20.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49, § 20, 2.

<sup>31</sup> For the form with *ε* instead of *α*, see MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Inschr.*, p. 31, § 15, 11. The reading is not quite certain. There is hardly room, however, for *α*.

The next most frequent offering is the pig, mentioned nine times, once, in line 44, three in a single offering. A sow with young is mentioned three times. Next in order of frequency come kine. In most cases we cannot tell whether cows or oxen are meant. Kine are mentioned nine times, including one instance, line 9, of a cow with calf. Next comes the goat, with six cases, and in line 18 an all-black he-goat. The divinity here proposed in the restoration, Ge, is more or less chthonic, and so corresponds well to the black victim. Of more unusual offerings we have τὰ ὄραια, the fruits of the season, with no price given, as if it were a trifle, perhaps, like the χοῦς of wine, for which also no price is given. An offering must indeed be of very small value to have the price omitted on this score, when the peck of barley at four obols was recorded. Comparable with τὰ ὄραια is the phrase in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 377, line 15: ἄλλα ἀπάργματα ὧν αἱ ὄραι φέρουσιν. Cf. also, *CIA.* II, 1055, line 8, ἐκ τῶν ὀραίων, and 1056.

A table is mentioned several times, but not in connection with any greater divinity, unless Κουροτρόφος be such, but only with heroes and the *Tritopatres*. In one case, line 53, it is all that the *Tritopatres* get. This sacrificial table is often mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>32</sup>

In *CIA.* II, 836, frags. a and b, line 23, among gifts to Asclepius, mention is made of τὴν ἀνάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς τραπέζης. But that so many tables are mentioned in our inscription is a little surprising.

The peck of barley, which is mentioned twice, is doubtless the barley thrown upon the victims from the time of Homer down.

Ἱερώσυνα is used twenty times, always after the mention of the offering, but by no means after every sacrifice. The price attached to it varies from one drachma, lines 46, 50, up to seven drachmas one obol and a half, line 22. The word is generally understood to designate the priests' perquisites.<sup>33</sup> It is worth noting that the

<sup>32</sup> *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, IX, p. 334, lines 9 and 10; *CIA.* I, 4, lines 19 and 20; II, 631, several times.

<sup>33</sup> BOECKH-FRAENKEL, *Staatshaushaltung*, II, p. 108. It is one feature of the inscription which makes it look more like an account than like a calendar, that these perquisites should be priced so exactly.

amount bears no relation to the size of the offering. The two highest prices, in lines 21 and 22, are paid when only a sheep is sacrificed. In line 46, with the same sacrifice, go *ιερῶσυννα* of only one drachma. To be sure the largest offering (in line 36) to Athene Hellotis, of an ox, three sheep and a pig, carries with it large *ιερῶσυννα* of at least six drachmas. More may follow, but the stone is here worn away.

The inscription mentions no large sacrifices like hecatombs, and in spite of the frequent mention of *ιερῶσυννα*, there is no mention of a priest. The only person spoken of as sacrificing is the demarch of the Marathonians.

The syntax and signification of *φρέατος*, line 52, to which a price of six drachmas is attached, is not clear. Whether it refers to a sacrificial pit or water privileges I must leave doubtful. It is the only case of a priced object coming after *ιερῶσυννα*. The greatest puzzle of all, however, is the word *σπυλια*, or possibly *σπυδια*, line 10. Whether it be a neut. pl. or fem. sing. is doubtful. If the latter, it must be an expensive object, for it costs forty drachmas.

There is no plan in the distribution of the gender of the victims in this calendar. Zeus (*ὑπατος* and *ἀνθαλεύς*), Iolaüs, Hero Phraeus, Hero by the Hellotion and Hyttenius all receive a sheep,<sup>34</sup> while Achaea, Cora and Ge have rams. A goat, in lines 34 and 50, and a sow with pigs, in 43, apparently go to some masculine divinity. Thus even the cautious statement made in Müller, *Handbuch*, v. 3, pp. 103-104, that at least Zeus and the heroes always received male offerings, is not here borne out.

The sacrifice of animals with young is quite a feature of the list. We have *ἰς κύνουσα* three times, *οἷς κύνουσα* twice, and once *βοῦς κύνουσα*. The latter is assessed at the same price as *βοῦς*. An *ἰς κύνουσα* is naturally priced higher than a pig. The latter is always three drachmas, while the former is twenty drachmas every time that its price can be made out. This might be due simply to the larger size of the sow. But in *οἷς κύνουσα* we have a clear case of a high price on account of this condition of the animal—sixteen and seventeen drachmas against eleven and

<sup>34</sup> *οἷς* is not here masc., as in Cos Calendar, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, II, p. 335, line 61, *οἷς τελεος*. *κρίως* is used in our inscription for the male.

twelve for an ordinary sheep. The sacrifice of animals with young is not, however, peculiar to our calendar. It is mentioned in both the Cos<sup>35</sup> and the Myconus<sup>36</sup> calendars.

But we have already approached the subject of prices, which certainly claims attention in connection with this inscription. Perhaps the *hekteus* of barley is the best point to begin with, since bread is the staff of life. This costs four obols, about twelve cents, for a peck. In *CIA.* II, 631, a half *hekteus* of wheat costs three obols, and in *Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, I, 73, half that quantity, or two *choinikes*, costs the same. Our barley is then quite cheap, although a given quantity of wheat ought, of course, to be worth more than the same quantity of barley.

A pig for three drachmas, or about fifty cents, seems cheap. But this is the same price as that mentioned in *Ar., Peace*, 374, during the Peloponnesian War, when prices might naturally be higher than usual. On the other hand, at Delos, at about the beginning of the second century B. C., a pig is put down at from four drachmas to four drachmas and five obols.<sup>37</sup> But at Delos, the supply being limited, the price would for that reason alone run much higher than in a farming district on the mainland.

It is laid down as a general rule by Boeckh that, with all the variation in price, the ratio of price in sheep and oxen was as one to five; a sheep in Athens, in its blooming period, varying from ten to twenty drachmas, and an ox from fifty to a hundred. Our list gives some interesting information on this point. The prevailing price of a sheep is twelve drachmas, although in at least nine cases it is eleven drachmas.<sup>38</sup> We have already noticed the especial case of the *οἷς κύνουσα*. Rams and goats are always twelve drachmas, while the all-black ram runs up to fifteen drachmas.<sup>39</sup> The ratio of prices given by Boeckh does not hold here.

<sup>35</sup> *J. H. S.*, IX, p. 328, line 2, *δὲς κύνουσα*; p. 335, lines 57 and 62, *δὲς κύνουσα*.

<sup>36</sup> *DITT. Syll.*, No. 373, line 13, *δὲς ἐγκύμων*. Cf. also No. 388, line 69, *οὐν ἐντροκα*.

<sup>37</sup> *Bull. Cor. Hell.*, VI, p. 22, line 180 ff. BOECKH-FRÄNKEL, *Staatshaushaltung*, I, p. 94. The judgment is based on *Plut. Solon*, 23.

<sup>38</sup> The Heroine never gets a sheep of the higher price, although the Heroes do.

<sup>39</sup> As a comparison of ancient prices with modern is always interesting, I may here record that a peasant brought a goat of average size to the excavations, butchered it, and retailed it to our workmen, getting for the whole 19.50 drachmas. This, at the present depreciated rate of paper money, would make about eleven silver drachmas, which is about the same as eleven ancient drachmas.



The price of a cow or ox is too high, ninety drachmas; except in one case, line 8, where it seems to be a hundred; but the reading is doubtful, because the stone looks as if it had been subjected here to erasure or change. But, after all, the kine are not exorbitantly dear, as will appear by a comparison with some other prices.

*CIA.* I, 188 (410 B. C.), speaks of a hecatomb in the second prytany as costing 5114 drachmas, which, if the hecatomb consisted of a hundred cows, as is assumed by Boeckh<sup>40</sup> and Rhangabé,<sup>41</sup> makes about fifty-one drachmas a head. In *CIA.* II, 163 (406 B. C.), the inscription discussed by Rhangabé (*l. c.*), the price is even less, for the hecatomb costs 41 minæ, and as there is some money left over, the price would be even less than 41 drachmas.

In the Sandwich marble, *CIA.* II, 814a, line 35, the price is not dependent on any such interpretation of the word hecatomb, and is given at 8414 drachmas for 109 oxen, or about 77 drachmas a head. As this is about contemporary with our inscription, *i. e.*, about 375 B. C., it is the best one for comparison, except that as it concerns Delos it might be regarded as giving figures above the usual price. But we see that it gives figures lower than ours. It may also be regarded as harmonizing fairly well with the earlier and lower figures from Athens, on the consideration that these are the figures for oxen, while Athene's hecatomb would naturally consist of cows.<sup>42</sup> In the Cos Calendar,<sup>43</sup> too, it is specified that the heifer for Hera must not be of less value than 50 drachmas.

Thus far our kine would seem to be high-priced, if they are cows, and even if they are oxen. But there are records of still higher prices. In the inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI, p. 26, line 219 (at Delos, 180 B. C.), an ox costs 100 drachmas. In *CIG.* 1688, a prize ox at Delphi costs 300 drachmas. In *Eph. Arch.*, 1883, plate 11, line 77 (at Eleusis, about 330 B. C.), an ox is put down at 400 drachmas. In *CIA.* II, 545, line 32, an ox, as an offering to a hero, costs 100 Aeginetan Staters, which Boeckh reckons at 300 Attic drachmas.<sup>44</sup> Though some of these cows

<sup>40</sup> *CIG.* I, 147.

<sup>41</sup> *Antiq. Hell.*, II, p. 441.

<sup>42</sup> Müller, *Handbuch*, v, 3, p. 104.

<sup>43</sup> *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, IX, p. 328, line 5.

<sup>44</sup> *Staatshaushaltung*, I, p. 94.

may be accounted for on the ground of stringency arising from the times or the locality, they make our newly-found figures for kine, if rather high, at least not exorbitant.<sup>45</sup>

Other points of interest will occur to one and another reader, but with the remarks already made, and with thanks to T. W. Heermance, a member of the School, who has worked out with me from beginning to end the somewhat difficult reading of the stone, and to Dr. Wilhelm for important suggestions, I leave the inscription to those interested in such matters for further restoration and comment.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

American School at Athens,  
March, 1895.

<sup>45</sup> It is possible that all our cases are either of oxen, or cows with calf, but the delivery of proof to that effect is impossible.

## NECROLOGY.

### AUGUSTUS CHAPMAN MERRIAM. †

Early in July 1894, Augustus Chapman Merriam, Professor of Greek Archaeology and Epigraphy in Columbia College, sailed from this country with the intention of spending his Sabbatical year abroad in study and research in connection with his favorite topics of Greek art and archaeology. The summer, autumn and early winter were passed in England and upon the Continent, and it was not until December 25th that he reached Athens. During a visit to the Acropolis, on the following day, he contracted a severe cold, which clung to him most persistently; but, despite this fact, at the first public meeting of the American School, on Friday, January 11th, he read a paper on Dr. Halbherr's recent explorations in Crete. The succeeding Tuesday, upon his return from a second visit to the Acropolis, he was stricken down with pneumonia; and four days later, on January 19th, he passed away.

Dr. Merriam was born at Locust Grove, Lewis County, New York, in 1843, and received his final preparation for college at the Columbia Grammar School. In 1862 he entered Columbia College, and four years later was graduated at the head of his class. He went immediately to the West, but the following year he returned to take the position of instructor at the Columbia Grammar School. In 1868 he was appointed tutor of Greek and Latin at Columbia College, an office which he held until 1876, when he was relieved of all Latin work and was enabled to devote himself entirely to Greek. In 1879 Hamilton College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and in 1880 he was promoted to the position of adjunct professor of the Greek language and literature in his Alma Mater. About this time he began to turn his attention more particularly to Greek archaeology and epigraphy, and commenced those studies which, before his death, had gained for him the distinction of being the foremost authority on these subjects in America. In 1887-1888 he was director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and his administration was signalized by successful excavations at Sicyon and at Dionysio, those at the latter place being of especial importance inas-

much as they settled conclusively the much disputed question of the site of the deme, Icaria, the birthplace of Thespis. In 1888, upon the death of President Barnard, Professor Henry Drisler was made acting president of the college, and Dr. Merriam, accordingly, became virtually the head of the Greek department. Two years later, in 1890, although he still continued his work in Greek language and literature, he was appointed to the newly created chair of Greek archaeology and epigraphy, a position which he held until the time of his death. He was president of the American Philological Association from 1886 to 1887, and of the New York Society of the Archaeological Institute of America from 1891 to 1894. He was for a number of years a member of the Committee of the School of Classical Studies at Athens, and from 1888 to 1894 acted as chairman of the Committee on Publication of that body.

Among his more important publications, beside his editions of the Phæacian Episode of the Odyssey and of the sixth and seventh books of Herodotus, both excellent text-books and both noticeable for the scholarly thoroughness of treatment and the independence of judgment which were so characteristic of the man, may be mentioned "The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk Crab in New York," "Aesculapius as revealed in Inscriptions," "Telegraphing among the Ancients," and "The Law Code of Gortyna." The latter, which was published shortly after the discovery of Halbherr and Fabricius, is an exhaustive treatise upon this famous document and ranks deservedly among the best commentaries that have been written concerning it. To these should be added his three recently published essays, "A Bronze of Polyclitan Affinities in the Metropolitan Museum," "Geryon in Cyprus," and "Hercules, Hydra, and Crab," which all bear witness to his artistic sense and to his extensive acquaintance with Greek art.

As a teacher Dr. Merriam at once commanded the respect of his scholars by his courteous bearing, his simple and unaffected dignity, his absolute impartiality, and his ripe and accurate scholarship. But, more than this, he rarely failed to arouse and stimulate their interest, for to him the classics never served as a mere basis for syntactical drill. Not that any essential point of syntax was ever neglected, but his pupils were made to comprehend that accuracy in this field was but a necessary stepping-stone to higher and to better things. His thoughtful criticisms kept vividly before his scholars the eloquence and literary beauty of the authors under discussion, and his extensive knowledge of art and of epigraphy was constantly employed to illumine every allusion and to quicken into new life the masterpieces of the ancients. Ever quick to sympathize and slow to censure, he yet did not form friendships easily, but, once he had become your

friend, he never faltered. He followed the subsequent careers of many former pupils with never failing interest, and the hearty good will with which he greeted them as fellow workers in his own field, won for him the love of many who had long respected and admired him for his high ideals and his scholarly abilities.

As a scholar, Dr. Merriam belonged to an almost ideal type, combining as he did the receptivity and progressiveness of the American with the conservatism of the English. No theory was ever rejected by him merely because it was new or its author hitherto unknown, nor was any hypothesis, however dazzling or however eminent the authority from which it emanated, ever accepted without a careful examination of the facts. He was a man of decided opinions, yet without the faintest touch of dogmatism; ever ready to defend his convictions, but never unnecessarily forcing them upon any one. In his love of accuracy and in the patience necessary to its attainment he resembled a German. For him no research was too arduous, no amount of labor too great to be undertaken, if it but gave promise of leading to the establishment of a fact or the elucidation of a principle. He possessed in fine to a remarkable degree that "infinite capacity for taking pains," which, if we may believe Carlyle, is identical with genius, and with this he united the sensibility to all that is beautiful and the delicate grace of expression which are such prominent characteristics of the French mind.

"He was a man, take him for all in all,  
I shall not look upon his like again."

CLARENCE H. YOUNG.

Columbia College, May 7th, 1895.

NOTES ON ITALIAN PAINTINGS IN TWO LOAN  
EXHIBITIONS IN NEW YORK.

I.

A loan collection of Madonnas was held at the Durand-Ruel galleries, New York, on March 7th, 8th and 9th, for the benefit of the charity of the "Little Mothers." It was made up of paintings, reliefs, engravings and embroideries. Among the paintings there were several modern pictures of high quality and a small gallery was filled with minor examples of Old Masters. Among the latter there was nothing of marked importance if we except a strong "Holy Family" of the South German School (No. 34) attributed to Dürer by its owner, Mr. M. Heider. A small Madonna and Child in a Gothic Niche (No. 3) attributed to Memling, belonging to Mrs. Francke H. Bosworth, was also of good quality.

The most important of the Italian pictures was perhaps a "Holy Family" attributed to Raphael (No. 32) loaned by Mr. Heider. The picture is an interesting example of the School of Raphael, but is unfortunately not in its original condition.

Several Byzantine Madonnas of about the 13th century were fairly characteristic but none were of first-rate quality. I may mention No. 2 loaned by Mr. Thomas Shields Clarke, which in execution was below Rico da Candia to whom it was attributed: then, a pleasing example, uncatalogued, loaned by Mr. Stanford White and interesting for its background of white enamel laid on over gold and also two examples loaned by Mr. Otto Heinizke, Nos. 49 and 50, assigned to the 12th and 13th century respectively, of which the former (No. 49), would seem to be of Extra-Italian origin, and the latter to be of a somewhat more recent date. To Mr. Heinizke belongs also a small panel showing a transitional treatment between the Byzantine and a more naturalistic manner not directly connected with Florence or Sienna exhibited under No. 51. The picture, which symbolizes the "Coming of Christ," with, to the right, John the Baptist preaching (to a Byzantine group), and to the left Mary leading the Child, was interesting iconographically and charming withal in feeling. There were several characteristic

"Icons," notably No. 24 in a frame of enamel on silver, belonging to Mrs. Anson P. Atterbury, and another uncatalogued.

Two unimportant Giottesque panels belonging to Mr. Henry Duveen may be mentioned: No. 43, the center of a large triptych of provincial 14th century derivation, and No. 42 a Madonna enthroned with four saints and two angels in which the treatment of the musical instrument was very charming. This latter piece was also the central panel of a triptych, and of the latter half of the 14th century, to judge by the execution and feeling, which were distinctly Florentine.

A tabernacle Madonna and Child, attended by an angel, of the School of Fra Filippo Lippi (No. 25), loaned by Mr. Stanford White, a weaker tabernacle piece (No. 29), attributed to Fra Filippo but seemingly of Botticelli's School, loaned by Mrs. William Rutherford Mead, and a good Tiepolo (No. 45), loaned by Mrs. Peter B. Wyckoff also deserved mention, while several pleasing copies or paraphrases of Botticelli (No. 59), of Di Credi (Nos. 54 and 60), of Andrea del Sarto (No. 53), and others, with a few early Renaissance reliefs of good quality, added to the generally artistic and restful ensemble. The exhibition was only on view for three days, and it is to be hoped that the experiment will be repeated on a more ambitious scale.

## II.

From March 25th to April 6th, 1895, a Loan Exhibition of Religious Art was held in the rooms adjoining the "Tiffany Chapel" at Nos. 334 to 341 Fourth avenue, New York City, for the benefit of the Chapel at St. Gabriel's, Peekskill, N. Y.

The exhibition, which included specimens of vestments and other stuffs, altar ornaments and plate with work in jewels and the precious metals and a few missals and books, was richly illustrative of modern religious art and not without some things of historical interest. A collection of old pictures which formed part of the exhibition was worthy of some attention and comment especially when we consider the infrequency of such opportunities for viewing the treasures of private galleries.

A Virgin and Child attended by Angels (No. 845), the property of Mr. James Renwick, who attributes it to Fra Filippo Lippi, is by a much rarer master, namely Benvenuto di Giovanni of Siena, of whom it is a characteristic example. Another important though less pleasing picture is a Madonna and Child owned by Mr. S. L. Parrish and correctly ascribed to Innocenzo da Imola, (No. 873.) It is hard and stiff, bricky in the flesh coloring and unpleasantly sleek with varnish; but is undoubtedly authentic and characteristic. No. 871 and No. 877



(A Madonna and Child with two Saints recalling Boccacino) from the same collection are interesting, though not important examples of Bellinesque or kindred influence. A school piece of the late Florentine Quattrocento and seemingly much repainted (No. 874) and a Madonna and Child attributed to Baroccio (No. 876) belong to the same gentleman.

Two Madonnas, Nos. 839 and 846, would seem to have been confused in the cataloguing, for the "Ridolfo Shirlandajo" (No. 846) seems to be a copy of a Francia, and the "Francia" (No. 839) a copy of Ridolfo or some painter of the same school. They belong to Mr. James Renwick, who exhibits a possible Paul Veronese (No. 843), an Adoration of the Shepherds (No. 842) of the School of the Bassani and an Epiphany (No. 842) attributed to Veronese, which is however more in the manner of Schidone. Another Epiphany owned by Mr. Thos. Bullock (No. 777) would seem to be a fine example of Tiepolo. I may mention also a good early copy of Raphael's Madonna of the Chair, the property of the Misses Patterson, and a Bagnacavallo of good quality (No. 819) owned by Mr. J. A. Hotzer.

Among the earlier Italian examples there is not much of interest. A 14th century panel somewhat restored (No. 835) showing mingled Sienese and Florentine influence belonging to Mr. Louis C. Tiffany may be noticed. There were also several unimportant Byzantine panels and a number of "Icons." Nos. 852 and 853 were noticed under Nos. 49 and 51 respectively, in the collection of Madonnas at the Durand-Ruel galleries: also No. 773 under No. 2: also a possible Memling under No. 3, and a Byzantine Madonna uncatalogued belonging to Mr. Stanford White.

I am not competent to estimate the importance of the extra-Italian pictures. A St. Jerome doing Penance (No. 781) attributed to Aldegrevier by its owner, Mr. James R. Sutton, is a gem of early German art. A "Sister" by De Vos dated 1620 (No. 775) owned by Mr. Thomas Bullock, and a Zurburan No. 798, owned by Mr. Henry T. Chapman, Jr., are of high quality. Mr. Chapman contributes also a Madonna assigned to an early Italian artist (No. 795) which is perhaps of some historical interest. It is of the early 15th century and of provincial origin with perhaps traces of foreign influence so that I am not able to place it locally. I believe this picture was also exhibited in the collection of Madonnas above referred to.

W. R.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NEWS.

### SUMMARY OF RECENT DISCOVERIES AND INVESTIGATIONS.

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## AFRICA.

### EGYPT.

DAHSHUR.—JEWELRY DISCOVERED BY M. DE MORGAN.—In the last number of the JOURNAL mention was made of the discovery of jewelry and tombs of the XII dynasty at Dahshur. A more extended notice of these discoveries was published by M. de Morgan in the *Débats* for March 14, 1895, and has been republished in the *Rev. Arch.* for March-April, 1895. After having uncovered the remains of a pyramid indicated by Lepsius, named the White Pyramid, M. de Morgan made a series of trenches on the north side of this excavation and soon reached the top of some *mastabas*. The whole of these tombs exhibited admirable frescoes of fine quality. They are the most ancient frescoes known. In one of these *mastabas* was found a stele bearing the cartouche of a high priest of Heliopolis, the oldest son of Snefrou. The date of these monuments is therefore certain. They belong to the beginning of the fourth dynasty, or according to some authorities, to the end of the third. This discovery, of extreme importance from an archaeological point of view, was followed almost immediately by another discovery. In the beginning of February, about 100 m. west of the White Pyramid, two undisturbed tombs were brought to light. They were oriented from north to south, and constructed of enormous blocks of Tourah limestone. The first tomb contained a sarcophagus which, according to the painted inscriptions, enclosed the mummy of Ita. She was still adorned with necklaces and bracelets; near her was a magnificent poniard with a

bronze blade and handle of gold encrusted with cornelian, Egyptian emeralds and lapis lazuli. Funerary objects of interesting character were also placed in the *serdab* adjoining this sarcophagus. The body was covered also with beads of pearl, gold, paste, cornelian, lapis lazuli and Egyptian emerald, forming a rich harmonious design which can be restored from the fragments found in the place. The second tomb contains a sarcophagus, the inscriptions of which give the name of the Princess Khnoumit. Here the treasures assume the proportion of an unique discovery. On and about the mummy M. de Morgan found a superb necklace fastened to the shoulders by two heads of hawks made of gold encrusted with cornelian and lapis lazuli, a network of golden beads, other ornaments made of beads of cornelian, Egyptian emerald and lapis lazuli, bracelets with fastenings of gold encrusted with marvellous art. This was not all, for in passing through the *serdab* by an opening hardly sufficient to allow a man to enter, there were found two remarkable crowns; one in solid gold encrusted with flowers, with a socket to support a fan-like spray of various flowers composed of jewels with gold stems and foliage; the other composed of a lace-work of encrusted gold in the form of a wreath of forget-me-nots of precious stones and with beads of lapis lazuli. It is divided into six sections by means of the *crux ansata* or Maltese cross. The number of objects of this remarkable discovery amount to 5,760, without counting the beads of precious stones. The amount of gold represents a weight of 1,792 grms. The Princesses Ita and Khnoumit were contemporaries of Amenemhat II, of the XII dynasty. These treasures are now on exhibition at the Museum at Gizeh.

**DEIR-EL-BAHARI.**—THE LATEST EXCAVATIONS.—M. Naville reports on Feb. 22 from Deir-el-Bahari: "The clearing of the Deir-el-Bahari is drawing towards its end. Not only is the middle platform completely cleared and levelled, but the retaining wall on the southern side is showing its enormous hawks and traces of the vultures and asps which have been erased by the enemies of the worship of Amon. Parallel to the retaining wall runs an enclosure wall which did not reach the height of the platform, but which formed with it a passage ending in a staircase, now entirely ruined. It seems to have been the only way to reach the Hathor shrine.

"Among the most interesting discoveries made lately are those alluded to in Mr. Hogarth's letter (*Academy*, Feb. 9) of fragments of the famous Punt wall, found scattered here and there in various parts of the temple. Small as the fragments often are, they give us important information as to the nature of the land of Punt. Its African character comes out more and more clearly. Although the name of Punt may have applied also to the coast of South Arabia, it is certain

that the Egyptian boats sent by the Queen landed in Africa. In the newly-discovered fragments we find two kinds of monkeys climbing up the palm-trees: the dog-headed baboon, the sacred animal of Thoth; and the round-headed monkey. Then we see bulls with long and twisted horns, like the animals which, as I have been told, were brought to Egypt some years ago from the Abyssinian coast. Two panthers are fighting together; a giraffe is showing his head, which reaches to the top of a tree, and a hippopotamus is also sculptured as one of the animals of the country.

"A small fragment speaks of 'cutting ebony in great quantity.' And on another we see the axes of the Egyptians felling large branches on one of the dark-stemmed trees which had not hitherto been identified, but which are now proved to be ebony. A small chip shows that the people had two different kinds of houses, one of which was made of wickerwork. It is doubtful whether we shall find much more; unfortunately, what we have is quite insufficient for allowing us to reconstruct the invaluable Punt sculptures, which have been most wantonly destroyed in ancient and modern times.

"On Feb. 1 we at last came upon an untouched mummy-pit in clearing the vestibule of the Hathor shrine. In a place where the slabs of the pavement had been broken we . . . discovered . . . a pit roughly hewn in the rock. When we came to a depth of about 12 feet we found the bricks and the stones which closed the entrance to the side chamber. I removed them with my own hands, got into the very narrow opening, and found myself in a small rock-hewn chamber. It was nearly filled with three large wooden coffins placed near each other, of rectangular form, with arched lids, and a post at each of the four corners. On the two nearest the entrance were five wooden hawks, one on each post and one about the middle of the body. Every coffin had at the feet a wooden jackal, with a long tail hanging along the box. Wreaths of flowers were laid on them, and at head and feet stood a box containing a great number of small porcelain *ushabtis*.

"The opening of the chamber being very small, it is evident that these large coffins were taken into the tomb in pieces, and put together afterwards. We undid the one next to the door, and found inside it a second coffin in the form of a mummy, with head and ornaments well painted, and a line of hieroglyphs well down to the feet. We did the same with the two others, and found that they also contained a second coffin, which we hauled up through the opening of the tomb. When we had stored them in our house, we opened the second coffins, and we found in each case a third inside, brilliantly painted with representations of gods and scenes from the Book of the

Dead. In this third box was the mummy, very well wrapped in pink cloth, with a net of beads all over her body, a scarab with outspread wings, also made of beads, and the four funereal genii. We unrolled one of the mummies, and then found it carefully wrapped in good clothes, which might be used at the present day as napkins or even handkerchiefs. Over the body was a very hard crust of bitumen: we had to use a chisel to break it. There were no amulets or ornaments of any kind except the beads.

These three mummies, which required nine coffins for their burial, are those of a priest of Menthu, Thotaufankh, his mother and his aunt. They evidently belong to the Saitic epoch, and are among the good specimens of that period. I consider that we were very fortunate in finding an unripped tomb. It is clear that, after the XXII dynasty, when the temple was no longer used as a place of worship, it became a vast cemetery."—ED. NAVILLE, in *Academy*, March 16, 1895.

## EUROPE.

### GREECE.

THE PAINTINGS BY PANAINOS OF THE THRONE ON THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.—In the elaborate description which Pausanias gives of the throne of the Olympian Zeus, few parts have given rise to so much discussion and so much difference of opinion as the paintings by Panainos, the brother of Pheidias. It has been disputed both where they were placed and how they were arranged. The most obvious inference from the words of Pausanias is that the paintings were arranged around the two sides and the back of the throne; the front, which was in great part hidden by the legs and draperies of Zeus, being left plain blue. This view was upheld by Brunn, Petersen, Overbeck (up to the third edition) and Collignon. The subjects enumerated by Pausanias appeared to be nine in number, and were accordingly arranged in three groups of three each. In opposition to this view Mr. A. S. Murray proposed in 1882 a view that these paintings were not on the throne of Zeus, but on the barriers which enclose the space in front of it and, as traces of these barriers have actually been discovered, this view has been followed in the official publication of the Olympian excavations and accepted by Overbeck in the new edition of his *Geschichte der Griechischen Plastik*. Mr. E. A. Gardner now raises several objections to Mr. Murray's scheme, and proposes a new solution, arranging the paintings upon the throne itself in twelve panels, four of which would have been placed upon each of the two sides and back of the throne. This view he justifies by means of the description of Pausanias and by a consideration of the construc-

tion of the throne.—E. A. GARDNER, in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Vol. XIV., part 2, 1894.

**LYKOURGOS AND NIKE.**—The Louvre possesses a panathenaic amphora dating from the Archonship of Theophrastus, 313 B. C. This vase contains as usual the figure of Athena between two columns, but upon one of the columns is represented the image of a god or man holding a figure of Nike. This figure is probably that of an orator, since it resembles statues of Demosthenes and Aischines. Twelve years before this amphora was made an orator like Lykourgos completed and decorated the Panathenaic stadion. There is nothing strange, then, that this figure should be placed upon the column on the amphora. This cannot be a copy of his bronze statue in the Agora, which was not set in place until 307 B. C., but it may be a souvenir of the wooden statue of him made by the sons of Praxiteles, Kephisodotos and Timarchos. It is probable, also, that if the large figure represents Lykourgos the little Nike perpetuates the memory of the statues of Nike in gold which Lykourgos dedicated to Athena. The little Nike is placed upon a strange pedestal held in the hand of the larger figure. The painting here is somewhat indistinct, but we may nevertheless conjecture that it represents the prow of a vessel, since we know that images of Nike upon the prow of a vessel are found upon the painted columns of a Panathenaic amphora dating from the Archonship of Niketes. Upon another Panathenaic amphora of the same date Nike is represented flying above the prow of a vessel. This is certainly a more artistic motive, and suggests an interesting problem. Was not the Nike of Samothrace, and similar statues, inspired by some painting representing Nike flying above the prow of a vessel? The sculptor would have been obliged to place Nike upon the vessel itself, although for the painter there was no such necessity. It is probable that this motive appeared first in that branch of art which was the most capable of giving it expression.—CECIL TORR, in *Rev. Arch.*, March–April, 1895, p. 160.

**A GREEK VASE IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. CECIL TORR.**—In the *Rev. Arch.*, March–April, 1895, M. Salomon Reinach describes an Athenian lekythos purchased by Mr. Cecil Torr at the sale of the collection of M. Joly de Bammerville, in Paris, June 12, 1893. On it is figured a woman bearing a spear and a shield; overhead is inscribed ΖΕΦΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΕ; the name of Ζεφυρία is new. The absence of all characteristic attributes does not allow of our considering this woman to be an Amazon; it is more probable that we have here represented a young girl dancing the pyrrhic dance as described by Xenophon in the *Anabasis* VI, I, 12–13. The *subligaculum* worn by this figure re-

appears in numerous paintings of dancers in the exercise called *Κυβιστικός* described by Xenophon in the *Symposium*.

ARGOS.—AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS AT THE HERAION.—Prof. T. D. Seymour, chairman of the American School at Athens, has received a report from Dr. Waldstein regarding this season's excavations at the Heraion of Argos. Dr. Waldstein says that at the end of the present season the whole of the ancient peribolos will have been excavated, including the buildings adjoining and the ancient temples. During this season an immense quantity of dirt has been removed, and the work has been pressed with uncommon vigor and success. He quotes the Greek Director of Antiquities as characterising the work at Argos as "the model excavation of Greece." Dr. Waldstein also says that he will take immediate steps for securing for the American School the sole right to excavate in the immediate vicinity of the Heraion for the coming five years.

After referring to the rich discovery of "bee-hive" tombs last year, and predicting the discovery of many more, Dr. Waldstein says, speaking of this season's excavations at the stoa: "As I am now writing the building is quite clear. It is a beautiful stoa . . . with walls of most perfect Greek masonry of which four and even five layers are standing, all sound. Within there are nine Doric pillars. All the pillar bases are *in situ*; three have the lower drums while one has two drums, the remaining ones, together with the capital, in good preservation, having fallen. There are well-worked pilasters, one to each alternate pillar. The stoa is about forty-five metres long by about thirteen metres wide. It faces toward Argos, and a continuous flight of steps leads up to it. The temple above it must have fallen in before this stoa was destroyed, as, especially in the western half, we found large drums of the columns from the temple, which had crashed through the roof. The flooring was there, in parts, littered with fragments of marble from roof tiles and metopes. Among them were several pieces of sculptured metopes, fragments of arms, legs, torsos and bodies, all from the high relief of the metopes, and two well-preserved heads (one quite perfect), with portions of three others. This stoa is, perhaps, the best preserved of all the buildings we have found, and is certainly one of the most imposing I know in Greece."

On the west of the stoa Dr. Waldstein found traces of a huge staircase covering the whole slope and leading up to the great platform of the temple, forming a magnificent approach to the sanctuary. He adds in this connection that the facings and massings of certain parts of the structure in different directions correspond to the change from the Mycenaean to the Argive supremacy.



In further excavations Dr. Waldstein notes the discovery of walls of the Mycenaean period, together with graves, vases and small objects. Outside of the boundaries of the temple he has found buildings of the Roman period, including an extensive and complete system of Roman baths.

Of the heads excavated Dr. Waldstein says that they correspond with those already found. They are worked in a vigorous manner, and are still of such careful execution that he "hardly believes even those of the Parthenon can rival them in this respect." One head of a youth with a helmet is in perfect preservation, and even the tip of the nose remains. He regards the sculptures as among the most important specimens of the art of the fifth century B. C. Altogether about seventy-six baskets full of vases, terracottas, bronzes, etc., have been collected, and a number of Egyptian objects, including scarabs, brought out. There are several inscriptions, some of the Roman period; but in this respect the most important find, perhaps, of the whole excavation is a plaque, about eight inches square, with an inscription in the earliest Argive characters.

Dr. Waldstein closes his letter with an urgent appeal for the thorough and graphic publication of the results of the labor of four seasons at Argos.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, June 21, 1895.

**ATHENS.—VASES FROM THE AKROPOLIS.**—The fragments of early Greek vases discovered on the Akropolis of Athens have now been partially arranged. They represent a great variety of pottery from the earliest period in an unbroken series down to the year 480 B. C. Of the Mycenaean period there is an astonishing quantity indicating that this type of culture lingered a long while in Attica. The series of fragments of red-figured vases is rich, and has many rare subjects. The fragments of black-figured vases are not yet arranged. This material is very abundant, and proves that the finest and the poorest of wares were made at the same time in Athens. This large collection is at present in a corridor-like room of the Central Museum, piled up upon tables and inaccessible to students. It is much to be desired that they should be placed upon exhibition, catalogued and published with illustrations.—CHR. BELGER, in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, Jan. 5, 1895.

**A GREEK ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.**—The Archaeological Society of Athens has decided to create an Institute for the special study of antiquity. This institute will have charge (1) of the publication of the *Archæological Journal* (*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*) and other publications of the society; (2) of communications and lectures having for their object the giving of information regarding the excavations undertaken at the cost of the society; (3) of advising in regard to the purchase of antiquities by the Council of the society and of determin-

ing their price; (4) of selecting archaeological works worthy of being financially assisted by the society. Finally, the members of this institute are to start public courses in archæology and history of art.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. XIX.

**THE PARTHENON FRIEZE TERRACOTTAS**—A new fragment of a small reproduction of the Parthenon frieze has recently come into the possession of Mr. A. H. Smith. It belongs to the same class as the fragments at Copenhagen, the Louvre and the Museo Kircheriano at Rome, which were published by Dr. Waldstein in his *Essays on the Art of Phidias*. Archæologists generally had settled down to the belief that these fragments were modern productions, based upon a series of casts made by Choiseuil Gouffier. Professor Furtwaengler, however, has recently reopened the controversy by declaring the Copenhagen fragment to be a genuine reduction of the frieze made in the time of Augustus. It is, however, certain that the series as a whole is not ancient, because the head of Iris is now known to have been wrongly restored, and because some of the slabs are made up of different parts of the original frieze brought together in a way which proves that the original was in a ruinous state when the moulds were made.—A. H. SMITH, in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Vol. XIV., part 2, 1894.

**DELPHI.—DATE OF THE TEMPLE.**—It has been generally believed that the temple was finished in the fifth century, but M. Foucart has proved, at a recent meeting of the Academy of Inscriptions, by means of a passage of Xenophon, hitherto misunderstood, and by an Athenian decree, that even in the fourth century the Greeks were seeking for the necessary funds to finish the temple. This fact once established allows of a better interpretation of some of the recent discoveries. The temple which is mentioned in the accounts contemporary with the Sacred War as undergoing certain works executed by international commission must be, therefore, the temple of Apollo. The remains of the Doric column discovered during the excavations date also from the middle of the fourth century, and there need now be no surprise at the style of the capitals, nor need it be supposed that the building was reconstructed.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. XIX.

**ERETRIA.—LATEST AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS.**—A letter received by Prof. Seymour, Chairman of the School at Athens, on June 21, from Prof. R. B. Richardson, describes the work at Eretria. Besides almost completing the excavation of the orchestra of the newly-found theatre, Prof. Richardson has laid bare a large building, in one room of which stood the tubs of the "city laundry" found last year. It appears to have been a gymnasium with floors of various kinds of pavements and another row of smaller tubs. In this building were found three heads, one a very fine one of an archaistic bearded Dionysos, almost

the counterpart of one in Athens; another, representing the best art of all, probably of the fourth century, the right side of a woman's head, with one eye and the forehead intact. The finds include: three inscriptions, one of fifty lines, probably an honorary decree of the first century B. C.; two silver coins, one probably of 500 B. C., bearing an archaic head, probably of Zeus or Herakles, and on the reverse a trireme; also stamped tiles, two terracottas, and a fragment of a vase with a name printed upon it. Prof. Richardson also says he has laid bare still another important building with many marble and terracotta trimmings.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, June 24.

### ITALY.

#### Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities.

**EUTHYDEMUS I, KING OF BACTRIA.**—In the Museo Torlonia there is a head, No. 133, described as an old fisherman, in which we may, however, recognize a king of Bactria. It is at least life-size and of marble similar to that of the dying Gaul in the Capitol. He wears a broad-banded thick hat such as we find represented upon the coins of the kings of Bactria and India. The strongly characteristic features of this head are found reproduced in a tetradrachmon of Euthydemus I. We learn from Polybius that Euthydemus came from Magnesia and he may have returned there after the peace with Antiochus in 208 B. C. At this time a statue may have been erected to him in his native town. This bust was formerly in the possession of Giustinani, who had possessions upon the island of Chios opposite Magnesia.—*J. Six in Roem. Myth.* ix. 2, p. 103.

**PORTRAIT OF TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.**—In the Museum of Berlin there is a Pentelic marble head of more than life-size, which has been illustrated in plates 15-16 of Brunn and Arndt, *Griechische u. Römische Porträts*. According to the Berlin catalogue this is a copy of a Greek head of the fourth century B. C. According to Brunn and Arndt, the head represents a Greek who lived in the Roman times about the end of the second century A. D. If we should compare this head with the best imperial portraits of the time from Lucius Verus to Caracalla, we find that the latter are much more objective in character. On the other hand, the date given in the Berlin catalogue is too early, since portraits of that time were severer and did not possess the softness of expression, nor the highly finished surface of this head. Such carefully ruffled hair is frequently found in busts from the time of Alexander through the entire Hellenistic period; but the short

beard was worn only within narrow limits of time. From the time of Alexander it was customary to shave; only the philosophers did not follow this fashion. They allowed the beard to grow longer than was customary in the fifth and fourth centuries. Occasionally royal portraits followed this custom, but ordinarily, the kings of Pontus, Bithynia and Macedonia from the middle of the third to the middle of the second century B. C. wore a very short beard. The original of this bust, therefore, must have lived about the end of the third and during the first half of the second century B. C. Similar features to those of this bust may be found upon the gold stater, which has upon the obverse a portrait head and on the reverse a Nike crowning the name of T. Qvineti. Examples of this are found in Berlin, Athens and Paris. Friedlaender remarks (*Zeitsch. f. Num.* XII S. 2,) "as this coin resembles exactly the Macedonian royal coins of this period and has the Nike of Alexander the Great, it must have been struck in Macedonia, not in Greece. The crowning of the name indicates that it was struck after the battle of Kynoskephalai in the year 197 and since it is a Macedonian coin, it can be placed only between the date of this battle and the peace with Philip in 196, the time when Flaminius was master in Macedonia. The statue to which the original of the Berlin head belonged, would accordingly have been made in the year 196. We know it is true only of one statue of Flaminius in Rome mentioned by Plutarch, but it is evident, that one to whom such divine honors were paid must have had many statues raised to him. This bust is of Greek workmanship, whereas the majority of Roman portraits were Italic. This is also the first certain instance of an important portrait of a Roman of this period. It may lead to the discovery of other portraits of Romans in busts which have hitherto been supposed to represent only Greeks.—J. SIX, in *Roem. Mith.* IX, p. 112.

**THE PONIATOWSKI COLLECTION OF GEMS.**—M. Salomon Reinach has written for the *Chronique* (1895, Nos. 1 and 2) a paper on the character and history of the peculiar collection of engraved gems made by Prince Poniatowski. The Prince had inherited a small collection of about 150 gems among which were such masterpieces as the Io of Dioscorides. Having retired from political life in 1804 and living almost always in Italy he found the means of increasing his collection to such an extent that at his death in 1833 it comprised 2601 gems, nearly 1800 of which were provided with artists' signatures. The collector was very chary of showing his gems and very little was known about them except from a catalogue, of which he had a few copies printed shortly before his death. The collection, it is not known whether wholly or in part, was sold in London in 1839. At this sale

the bulk of the gems, 1140 in number, was purchased by a Colonel Tyrrell and on becoming known to the public and to specialists it became generally suspected that the greater part of the gems were forgeries. This appears to have been the case with all the signed gems.

**HERCULANEUM.—THE MISTRESS OF THE VILLA OF HERCULANEUM.**—On the 17th of November, 1759, there was found in the villa of Herculaneum a bronze bust which has given rise to the most remarkable and fanciful interpretation. By the publishers of the Herculaneum bronzes it has been named Ptolemaios Apio or Berenike; by others Libya; by Comparetti, Aulus Gabinius or Apollo; by Arndt it has been called a Hellenistic conqueror. The ground for all these interpretations has been the taenia about the head which in our view is certainly modern. The face is well preserved with only modern eyes. The neck also and small portion of the bust are ancient and well preserved. On the other hand, the entire crown of the head together with the taenia and the locks of hair forming a complete wig, are modern. The record given by Paderni of the discovery of this bust substantiates the preceding remark. The acceptance of the antiquity of the entire bust, is based upon the fact that Winckelmann saw it in 1762 and expressed no doubt of the genuineness of the locks of hair. This only shows that the restoration must have taken place before 1762. Underneath the modern locks of hair, we find engraved indications of hair which are not modern; these correspond precisely in style to those which may be seen upon the foreheads of women in Pompeian paintings, and is an indication to us that this head is the portrait of some distinguished woman of Herculaneum or of a Roman lady who had her villa there. We are tempted to go further and from the fragment of an inscription upon the herm, near which the head was found, restore the name as Thespis, but we are not acquainted with this as the name of a woman and there seems to be no space for the name of the dedicator.—J. Six, in *Roem. Mitth.* ix, p. 117.

**LYSIMACHOS, KING OF THRACE.**—Of the three heroic sized bronze busts of kings from the Villa in Herculaneum, two only were found in the Atrium. The third, found in the garden, has been recognized by Wolters as Seleukos. Of the other two, which as yet have not been recognized, one was called Ptolemy Alexander (*Bronzes of Herculaneum* I, plate 69-70; *Villa Ercolanese*, vol. ix, 3.) The most recent publisher of this bust, Arndt, remarks that from iconographic as well as chronological grounds this identification is untenable. He himself says of it: "I think on account of the resemblance of the features to those of Alexander the Great, that this is possibly the portrait of his father, Philip of Macedon (382-336), whose portrait we know was made by

Euphranor, Leochares and Chaereas. It is too old to be an Alexander. A close observation shows many other features not possessed by Alexander. These features are, however, to be found on coins representing Lysimachos. Of the statues of this king we know specifically of one which was placed on front of the Odeion of Perikles (Paus. I, 9, 4.) Wachsmuth was probably right in saying that this statue was made in the year 284/3, when the king was 67 to 77 years old.—J. Six, in *Roem. Myth.* ix, 2, p. 103.

**PALERMO.**—RELIEF REPRESENTING A SACRIFICE BY VESTAL VIRGINS.—In the National Museum at Palermo, there is a relief which came from the collection of Prince Raffadeli, of the province of Girgenti. The relief appears once to have decorated a large altar. On it are represented a seated woman, four standing women and a priest. In front of the women are represented three small altars, on one of which is an ox, on another a ram and on a third fruit. The whole scene is represented as taking place in front of a temple. There are two other reliefs which may be brought into comparison with this; one is in the Museum of Sorrento and has been published by Heydemann (*Roem. Myth.*, 1888-9, pl. x.); the other in the villa Albani was published by Zoëga. *Bassirilievi* Taf. 22. These three monuments evidently portray the same subject and must be interpreted alike. The costume of the women is that of the statues of the vestal virgins from the atrium of Vesta. They wear over their heads the *suffibulum*, which according to Festus was worn only by vestal virgins. Upon the relief of Sorrento there is represented also a Palladium which identifies the temple as that of Vesta. The temple upon the two other reliefs may be similarly attributed. The seated figure we may consider as the goddess Vesta herself, not only because of the ideal form of the head, but also because on the Albani relief she carries a sceptre and corresponds in general to the seated figures of Vesta found upon coins. From the character of the workmanship of the relief from Palermo, we may judge that it cannot be later than the first century A. D., and may be as early as the time of Augustus —ERNEST SAMTER in *Roem. Myth.* ix, p. 125.

**PERUGIA.**—BRONZES FROM PERUGIA.—In April, 1812, an important find of bronzes was made at Castello S. Mariano, 6 kilom. southwest of Perugia. Some of these bronzes remained in the museum of the University of Perugia; others found their way to the British Museum and to the Glyptothek and the Antiquarium at Munich. In the early portion of the century these bronzes were published by Vermiglioli, Inghirami and Micali, but their publications did not give sufficiently good representations of the bronzes nor a proper estimate of their historical importance. They were generally classed as of Etruscan origin, whereas the greater portion are early Greek or more definitely Ionian



workmanship, while others are local or Etruscan; but all of them, whether original or imitations, belong to the sixth century B. C. Amongst these objects the most important is a highly decorated bronze chariot, the fragments of which are scattered in the various museums. This was not a war chariot, as was formerly supposed, but designed for pleasure driving. It was finely decorated with figures of gods, gorgons, men and animals. The object next in importance is a war chariot, the fragments of which have all remained in Perugia. Belonging to this chariot is an important relief representing the contest of Herakles and the Amazons against Ares, Kyknos and Aphrodite. Analogous representations upon vases from Chalcis and sarcophagi from Klazomenai, show that both of these chariots were of Ionian workmanship. Besides these important objects, there are here described in detail many fragments of reliefs, which decorate objects of furniture, also a number of moulded figures and reliefs in silver, some of which are plated with gold. Etruscan imitations of early Ionian work are then considered separately, and a classified catalogue of them is given.—E. PETERSEN, in *Roem. Mitth.* ix, 4.

A series of excellent photographic reproductions of the most important of the bronzes is given on plates 14 and 15 of vol. II, No. 2, of the *Antike Denkmäler* of the German Institute, just issued.

**POMPEII.**—EXCAVATIONS AT BOSCOREALE.—Sig. Vincenzo de Prisco of Boscoreale has made excavations in his property about 1.50 kilom. from Pompeii. Here he has discovered a villa, which is not merely a farm-house, since it contains apartments for baths evidently intended for the use of the proprietor, so long as he lived there. Drawings of this building have been made by the architect Holzinger. The excavations have not yet been completed, but a brief notice of them may now be given. Adjoining the central court is found the *culina*, directions concerning which are found in Varro *de r. r.* i, 13, 2, and Vitruv. vi, 9, (6), 1. In the centre of the *culina* stood the oven of square form. The entrance to the *culina* is at the southeast angle according to the directions of Vitruvius, that the *culina* should be placed in the warmest portion of the court. An adjoining room was evidently intended for the preservation of farming implements; then follow two rooms with walls painted in late Pompeian style. Northeast of the *culina* are found the bath rooms, with *apoditerium*, *tepidarium* and *calidarium*. Portions of the furnace still remain with their connecting tubes. Several fragmentary inscriptions were also found. A. MAN, in *Roem. Mitth.* ix, 4, p. 349.

The following letter gives further details:—

"I went lately to the new excavation on Signor de Prisco's property at Boscoreale, which is highly interesting. The elegant bath-room



which forms part of the dwelling now uncovered was dug out some time ago, and probably the objects found in it were taken away. Signor de Prisco is now excavating the rest of what seems to be a large and elegant house, about a mile away from the northern limit of ancient Pompeii as the crow flies. The most interesting things yet found are two cisterns for supplying the bath and washing-basins at the other end of the bathing chamber, with hot and cold water at will, when they could be mixed to the proper temperature. Pipes, taps, &c., are all in their original place. The great square room (at the side of which these cisterns stand) with the hearthplace in the middle was the kitchen (*atrium*), which, in the country as well as in the town, served in the oldest time as the principal living-place of the inhabitants.

"This country house now discovered must not only have been a farm, but also served as a country residence for its owners, as the objects discovered, and the elegance of the mural frescoes, show. This *atrium* in the country villa now discovered was no doubt the largest room, as it always was in a *villa rustica*. It was called the *culina* (kitchen.) On three sides it was surrounded by its unplastered walls; on the fourth with a large broad kind of cupboard, or sideboard of wood, the impression of which could be clearly seen in the ashes and pumice-stone by which the house was buried. On the low hearth in the centre the cinders of the fire last kindled by the inhabitants were found. In one of the walls is a niche for the lares and penates. The bath-rooms consist of an antechamber, on the mosaic floor of which are represented two ducks; the *tepidarium*, with the figure of a large fish in the mosaic floor; and the *calidarium*, the pavement decoration of which represents a swan or crane stretching out one claw towards a wriggling eel. This bath-room is especially interesting as still containing the water cistern, conducting pipes, bronze taps, &c., which are quite missing in Pompeii, because in the latter city the surviving inhabitants took away all the metal objects they could find.

"The bath, lined with marble and standing on a marble step, is of the usual size for one person. At the opposite side of the room is a niche with a roof in form of a shell, where doubtless stood the basin or fountain, for the bronze tubing can be seen in the wall. Behind the bath, and at an angle with it and the kitchen, separated from each by a wall, is the heating-room. A leaden boiler, about two feet in diameter, and more than six feet high, stands above an oven, from which the heat was also led into the bath-rooms in the well-known manner. Not far away is the water cistern, connected with a complete system of pipes. One comes from the yet unexcavated part of the villa, leading the water into the cold-water cistern at the upper part, and capable of being closed by a bronze tap. Then four other pipes

issue from the same cistern near its bottom, close above the ground. One of them, still provided with its tap, turns away from the heating chamber, and either led to a cold bath or served to empty the cistern. The other three pipes lead the water into the heating-room and into the boiler. The largest, which can be closed by its tap, brought the cold water. Curiously enough, it did not empty the water straight into the boiler, but the pipe twists round within the boiler, to let the cold water flow into the bottom of the boiler, without affecting the already heated water at the top. The second pipe, also with a tap, leads into the bath, but before reaching it, it joins a short pipe coming from the boiler. This short pipe has also a tap. When this was closed and the other open, cold water flowed into the bath; reversing the movement, then the warm water flowed into the bath. The third pipe is not visible in all its course, as the part is not yet excavated, but there is no doubt that it supplied the basin in the niche. It has also a tap at its commencement, and in passing the boiler joins a short pipe with a tap, rendering possible, in the same way, the mixing of hot and cold water in the basin. The boiler has a very short pipe close to the bottom, to let out the water, which must have been caught in vessels.—*Athenæum*, Dec. 22, 1894.

ROME.—MUSEUM IN THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN.—Several new halls of sculpture have been opened in this museum; besides these two halls have been devoted to antiquities of the Lombard period. One contains objects in use by men and the other contains women's jewelry and other decorative objects.—*Chronique*, No. 11, 1895.

KARYATIDES FROM THE VIA APPIA.—Brunn in *Gesch. d. Griech. Künstler*, I, 542, has gathered together a number of works inscribed with the names of Greek artists in the Roman period, from which list the artist of the Medici Venus has long been excluded, on account of the falsity of the inscription; and the Kleomenes of the altar at Florence has been recently excluded on the same ground; also the relationship of the Vatican Karyatid and those in the Palazzo Giustiniani, to those which Diogenes erected in the Pantheon, has grown more and more improbable. One more statue must be taken from this group; namely, the Maenad in the Villa Albani, which has passed for a work of Kriton and Nikolaos. So far as the inscription is concerned there is no doubt with regard to its genuineness, but the head does not belong to the body which now bears it. The head is that of a Karyatid and the body that of a Maenad. In comparison with the head inscribed, on the back, with the names Kriton and Nikolaos, we may bring the following series of Karyatides: one in the Villa Albani No. 628; one in the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo No. 47; one in the British Museum; another in the Villa Albani No. 725; and one of which, a cast, exists

in the Bagni Bernini. We know from the testimony of Winckelmann, that together with this head at least two other Karyatid statues were found. Brunn has suggested that these statues belonged to a building of Herodes Atticus in the Via Appia, under the name of the Triopian Pagus. This Triopeion is further known by extensive inscriptions now in Paris. The goddesses here worshipped, according to the poem of Marcellus, were Demeter and Kore and the elder and younger Faustina, empresses who were worshipped as goddesses. The goddess who gave her name to the region is Deo-Demeter, whose original abode was upon the Triopian promontory near Knidos. The reason that Herodes selected her would seem to be, that he was initiated into these mysteries by his teacher Theagenes of Knidos. With regard to the cult of this Triopian Demeter, we have information in the sixth hymn of Kallimachos. He pictures a procession in which a kalathos filled with ears of corn was drawn in a wagon as the symbol of the goddess. This kalathos described by Pliny (N. H. xxi, 5) had the same form as that borne on the head of our Karyatides; which seems to make it clear that they were attendants of Demeter. In spite of the abundant representations of Kanephoroi, the use of such figures as free standing columns was not common. Furtwängler refers this entire group to the school of Skopas and Praxiteles, but the Karyatides now in question appear to have been based upon Athenian prototypes of the fifth century.—H. BULLE, *Roem. Myth.*, ix, p. 134.

A FEMALE HEAD; A COPY OF THE NIKE OF PAIONIOS.—In the possession of Friulein Hertz in Rome, there is a marble head representing a youthful woman, whose hair is doubly bound by a taenia, the extremities of which fall behind her ears. The way in which this taenia is bound is found only upon the fragmentary head of the Nike of Paionios, and when we come to compare this head with the head of the Nike, it is found to be a copy with very slight variations of the famous Nike or at least of a head from the same school, the same atelier and in all probability from the very same hand. The importance of this head for the history of Greek sculpture of the fifth century and especially in enlarging our conception of the work of Paionios is self-evident. The inscription on the base of the Nike statue, which has been assigned roughly between the years 450–420, may now be placed at the earlier rather than the later date if we judge from the style of this head. Had the statue been made as late as 420, Paionios would undoubtedly have profited in the treatment of transparent drapery from the art of Pheidias. The monument which comes nearest in style to the Nike, is the fine Maenad relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, published by Winter in the 50<sup>th</sup> Winckelmann Program and assigned by him to the middle of the fifth century.—A. AMELUNG, in *Roem. Myth.*, ix, p. 162.

HERAKLES WITH HYDRA IN THE MUSEUM OF THE CAPITOL.—In the year 1620, when the church of S. Agnese outside of the Porta Pia was being rebuilt, there was found a much injured figure of a youth of strong, muscular form. Both arms and the greater portion of both legs were missing. Out of this torso, the sculptor Algardi made a restoration of a Herakles in contest with the Hydra, and the subsequent discovery of a leg entwined by the body of a Hydra was thought to substantiate the restoration. This composition, however, is out of analogy with classic productions, and other fragments more certainly connected with this statue are made the basis of a new restoration of a Herakles with the stag. The pose of the body is strictly analogous to that of well-known examples of this type.—L. PALLAT, in *Roem. Mitth.*, ix, 4, p. 334.

PRODIGY OF THE LEGIO FULMINATA.—Father Grisar publishes in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for 1895, No. 1, a note entitled the "Prodigy of the *Legio Fulminata*" and the column of Marcus Aurelius. This legend, so famous in the annals of primitive Christianity, is sculptured on the base of the column of Marcus Aurelius, the bas-reliefs of which represent the campaign undertaken by the Emperor against the Quadi. The prodigy took place in the summer of 174 A. D. The bas-relief naturally represents it as it would be explained by Pagans and especially by the philosophic Emperor. The relief is well preserved and is here reproduced from a photograph with accuracy for the first time. The prodigy as narrated by three independent witnesses was as follows: During the campaign against the Quadi, the Roman troops were in danger of dying of thirst, but prayers having been offered up, a heavy and refreshing rain came down, and this was so manifestly by the intervention of a superior power, that Marcus Aurelius felt it necessary to recognize the fact and to affirm it publicly. According to Apollinaris and to Tertullian, it was the Christian soldiers of the army who by their prayers brought down the rain; and especially, says Apollinaris, was this the case with one of the legions, which was called in consequence ever afterwards the *Legio Fulminata*. This prodigy took place immediately before the battle and was the means of giving victory to the Romans, not only by refreshing them, but by turning hail and lightning and a violent storm against the barbarians. In the relief the rain proceeds from a winged spirit like a Genius, with extended arms, whose beard and figure almost entirely disappear in the falling rain. This figure has none of the characteristics of a god, and therefore, the identification of it as Jupiter Pluvius, so common among archæologists, is an error. The figure is nothing else than the personification of the rain and a sign that it was due to superhuman causes. This bas-relief is, therefore, far from invalidating the testi-

mony of early Christian writers, and is, in fact, a strong proof in their favor. Grisar is opposed to Petersen's opinion that the legend arose in consequence of this very bas-relief, and cites Harnack, who proves conclusively the existence of a letter written by Marcus Aurelius to the senate in which he mentions this prodigy. This official declaration by the Emperor is supported also by Mommsen in a recent paper in *Hermes*, 1895, No. 1. Grisar is opposed both to Harnack and to Mommsen in that he does not regard the imperial letter as the sole source of the legend, but gives independent value to the early Christian testimony to the fact.

**RUVO (APULIA).—VASE REPRESENTING THESEUS IN THE SEA.**—In the *Not. d. Scav.* 1893, p. 242, Sig. Jatta has described a vase from Ruvo, as has been already recorded in the news of this JOURNAL, IX, p. 453, to which we refer for details. The principal painting represents the descent of Theseus into the sea, the myth related by Pausanias I, 17, 2, and illustrated by a painting by Mikon. The figures we believe to have been correctly identified by Sig. Jatta as Theseus, Poseidon and Nereus between a Nereid and Amphitrite. The peculiarity of this picture is that Theseus holds in his left hand a box or shell in which to place the ring which Nereus had thrown into the sea. This myth is depicted upon three other vases, as has been already noted. Upon a Krater from Bologna, Theseus is represented as miraculously carried into the deep by Triton. Such a representation is *a priori* probable in the school of Polignotos and likely to have been followed by Mikon. The more schematic mode of representation and the kind of garment worn by Theseus are indications that the vase from Ruvo was made in Magna Græcia, perhaps at Tarentum.—PETERSEN, in *Roem. Myth.* IX, p. 229.

**TARENTUM.—MOSAIC PAVEMENT AND BRONZE LAW TABLES.**—Two discoveries deserving mention have taken place at Taranto, the one relating to art, the other to epigraphy. In digging the foundations of some building the workmen came across the remains of a Roman house of large dimensions, which had been erected on ruins of a still earlier period. In this house were discovered three mosaic pavements, one of which, of considerable size, was adorned with a large mythological scene. It is of rectangular form, 5.40 mètres long and 3 wide. At the sides are decorations in geometrical design, while the centre field contains a figure of Bacchus, 2.10 mètres high. The god is represented nude and beardless, standing erect, with his left hand resting on the thyrsus, and in the right hand a vase, from which he is pouring wine into the open mouth of a panther crouching at his feet. The figures are drawn in simple black outlines, the panther's teeth and some ornaments (as the crown on Bacchus's head and the animal's collar)

being picked out in other colours. It is observed by Signor Viola, director of the excavations at Taranto, that, while mosaics generally represent copies of ancient pictures, this figure in outline evidently reproduces some ancient statue. Indeed, a subject which may be the original of this composition is to be seen in a statue of Bacchus in the National Museum of Naples. The style of the work, and especially the marginal decorations, denote a late period, perhaps the third century of our era.

Later on were discovered on the same site six fragments of bronze tablets, bearing inscribed parts of a Roman municipal law. Signor Viola, on being commissioned by the Government to continue these researches, succeeded in finding a new fragment, which completed the ninth tablet of the law, as was known by the numerical indication it bore on the top.—HALBHERR, in *Athenæum*, March 23, 1895.

**TERRACINA.**—NOTE ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER ANXUR.—We promised in a late issue of the JOURNAL a note on what proved to be the most important discovery made in Italy during 1894, that of the temple of Jupiter Anxur at Terracina (JOUR. IX. No. 4, p. 606). The details of the discovery are given in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (1894, pp. 96-111) by Sig. L. Borsari, from which we make the following summary.

The temple of Jupiter Anxur is mentioned by Livy, Virgil and Servius. Livy speaks (xxviii. 11) of lightning having fallen on this temple in the year 548 u. c. and shortly afterwards records the same fact (xl. 45) for the year 575. Virgil (*Æn.* vii. 799) has a passage which shows that the worship of Jupiter Anxur was not restricted to Terracina, but extended to the neighboring towns, and it also tells us that the temple must have been situated on a hill from which the entire surrounding territory could have been visible. Servius in his comment on this passage reports that it was the infant Jupiter who was worshipped under this title of Anxur. This fact is confirmed by a coin of the gens Vibia which represents a youthful god seated, with the inscription IOVI ANXUR. Although a few writers such as Contatori, Smith (in his dictionary) and Vinditti suggested that the temple might be located on the bluff immediately overhanging the town, the general opinion has been that the ancient structures still remaining at that point belong not to the early Roman period, but to the time of the Goths. In fact M. De La Blanchère, and writers on the history of architecture like Mothes, (*Die Baukunst d. Mittelalters in Italien*), regard the great arches on the bluff as the remains of a fortress or prætorium of King Theodoric and as belonging, consequently, to about 500 A. D. The recent excavations prove, however, that these arcades and vaults were part of the substructure of the temple of Jupiter Anxur and belong, as might



have been expected from their good quality, to a very early Roman period. The first discovery was entirely fortuitous; a certain Capponi in search for treasure dug a hole, and at a depth of 2.50 m. found a wall of local stone surmounted by a cornice of excellent style. This was recognized to belong to the base of a temple by a relative of the excavator, Sig. Pio Capponi, who identified it with the temple of Jupiter Anxur. His opinion was confirmed by some of the remains of mosaic pavement found close by. The municipality of Terracina, which owned the site, placed at the disposal of Capponi the necessary funds for the excavation. In a short while the entire plan of the temple was uncovered, oriented from north to south and measuring 33.50 m. by 19.70 m. We reproduce the plan from the *Scavi*, as well as both a transverse and a longitudinal section.

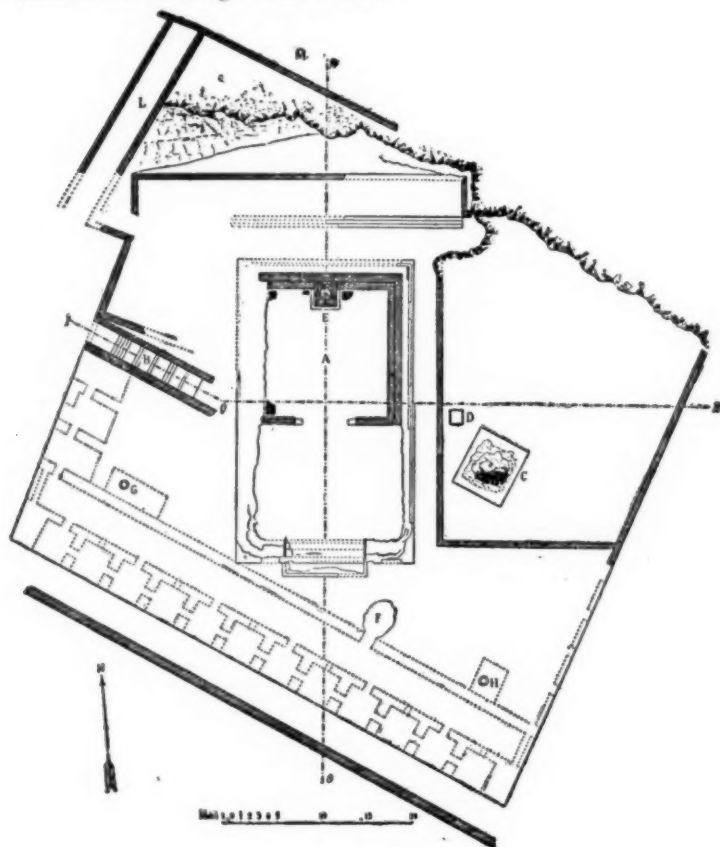


FIG. 33.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE TEMPLE AND PLATFORM.



It was built like all the rest of the temple in *opus incertum* and was externally decorated with semi-columns attached to the walls which were also built of *opus incertum*, except their lower portion, which was formed of a half drum of travertine. Several of these semi-cylindrical blocks of travertine were found. There remain in place along the walls of the cella the square blocks of travertine upon which the semi-columns rested, of which there were six on each long side and four at the end. Against this end wall at the point marked E on the plan is a brick base, with its cornices, the object of which was to bear the statue of the god. The pavement is of white mosaic surrounded by a dark framework.

The *pronaos* is 12.80 m. long, and on its front there are still the remains of the staircase. It was decorated with large channelled

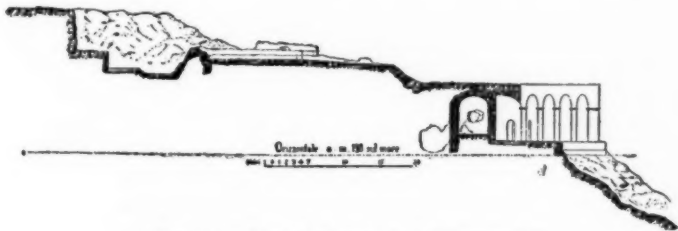


FIG. 34.—CROSS SECTION OF SUBSTRUCTURE.

columns and with capitals of Corinthian style, all in the alabaster of the quarries of the Circean Mount. The fragments of the Corinthian foliage that have been found, show from their masterly execution that they belong to the very beginning of the imperial period.

The stylobate, which is quite well preserved along the eastern side, consists of large blocks of sandstone with a cornice, a lintel, a concave and a reversed moulding. This part, also, from the perfection of its execution, belongs to the period between the close of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. To the same time belonged the stamps



FIG. 35.—LONG SECTION OF SUBSTRUCTURE.

on the tiles and bricks which were found during the excavation: some of these were already known and belong without doubt to this age; others are new, such as that mentioning L. Domitius Lupus and a slave named Felix. There are certain lion heads also, in the same alabaster, used for gargoyles, which appear to belong to an even earlier date.

The temple was completely destroyed by fire, which even calcinated some of the large blocks of the basement on the eastern side. The violent action of the fire is shown everywhere, and a heavy layer of ashes and coals covers the ruins. It is also evident that there was willful destruction, for the statues which decorated the temple were broken in many pieces, so that only a few fragments have been recovered, sufficient merely to show the good design and the taste with which they were executed. The disappearance of the columns, of which but a single drum was found, and of many other architectural features, lead to the belief that, on the destruction of the building itself, its remains were cast down the mountain side. This destruction of a magnificent temple is probably due to the reaction which took place after 426 A. D., when Theodoric issued his decree for the destruction of Pagan temples.

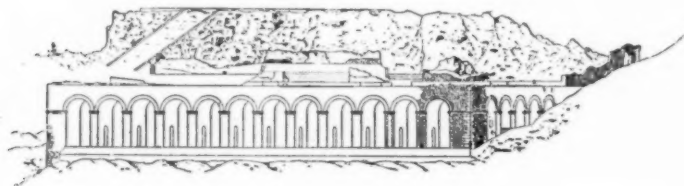


FIG. 36.—FACE OF THE SUBSTRUCTURE.

Along the east side of the temple, among the ashes, there were found many votive objects, which had been spared by the fire. Two inscriptions show that Venus possessed a sanctuary in the large temple. Only a few coins were found: one is of Augustus, one of Faustina the younger, and one of Marcus Aurelius.

*Cave of the Oracle*—At a short distance from the temple to the east, there came to light a singular structure. It consisted of four walls, about .75 m. high, forming a rectangle of 6.90 m. by 6 m. It is marked C on the plan. Within this structure is a natural rock which is pierced at a point corresponding to the centre of the rectangle. It was found that under this rock there opened up a small cavern, now hardly 7 m. in depth, which communicated with the outside in some manner. It is certainly the cavern for the answers of the oracle. It

is conjectured that the origin of the sacredness of this rock lies in its having been struck by lightning at some time, and so having become a bidental shrine, because Jupiter had shown his power upon it. Hence it was shut off from public gaze and was covered in by a small roof, supported by brick columns of the Ionic order.

*The Substructure.*—The temple having been found, it became evident that the great arcades should be recognized as the substructure which sustained the platform upon which the temple was erected. This substructure extended for 62 m. along the southwest side and 24 m.



FIG. 37.—ARCADES ON SIDE OF SUBSTRUCTURE.

along the northwest side. It must be granted that the labor of forming a suitable plateau upon which to erect the temple was colossal. It was necessary at the rear to cut away a large section of the mountain, and in order to conceal the rough rock-side, a portico was erected behind the cella. It was built also of *opus incertum*, covered with stucco, painted in yellow and red and with columns of Corinthian order. At its base it was bordered by a line of four steps, cut away out of the live rock. The front of the platform had to be formed by the erection of this immense mass of brickwork in the form of arcades and vaults. The plateau thus formed is irregular in shape. The rain water was collected in two large cisterns, marked G and H on the plan. The axis of the temple is not normal to the front of the sub-

structure, for the latter follows the form of the hillside, while the temple was exactly oriented. Communication was established between the temple area and the plain below by a staircase marked B on the plan. It is interesting to note that a second cavern, also used for religious rites, was reached from the interior of the arcade of the substructures.

The reason for the choice of this especial site for the temple was evidently that from this point it could be seen as far away as Fondi and Gaeta to the east, and Antium and Ardea to the west; it also overhung the city from which it would have been invisible had it been built upon the summit of the bluff. This fact is a final proof of its identity with the temple of Jupiter Anxur, as it corresponds exactly to the position given to it by Virgil.

*Citadel.*—The temple was defended by a citadel which was reached by a staircase cut in the rock at the point marked L on the plan. But few of the remains of the fortifications of the citadel have been found. They connect with the great surrounding wall, with its towers, which protect the mountain along the north-northwest slope. The structure in *opus incertum* is of the same quality as that of the walls of the temples, and its substructures entirely exclude the possibility that this fortified wall should be of the time of Theodoric the Goth.

*Votive Objects.*—It is not improbable that the name Anxur represents the original divinity worshipped by the Volscans, to which conception there was added later, in this as in so many other cases, the idea of Jupiter. This is confirmed by the character of the votive objects, which are genuine playthings (*crepundia*). These rare objects are all of fused lead, and represent the furniture of a dining-room,—table, plates and kitchen utensils,—all executed in the style which was in vogue at the close of the Republic or the beginning of the Empire. There is a *mensa tripes*, or table, with three legs, a seat like an arm-chair, or *cathedra supina*; then comes a four-legged, oblong table, which reproduces the sideboard, upon which the dishes were to be placed as they were brought in, and finally the candelabrum, to light the feast, and the youthful waiter (*puer dapifer*) bringing in a tray, or *ferculum*. It is known that especial garments and especial sandals (*vestis cenatoria*) were put on in going to table by the Romans, hence we have a small model of such sandals. Then follow the dishes for the table (*patinae*); some of which are represented with the viands upon them, such as a plate with two fishes. There is one of extreme elegance, in the form of a shell; with one exception, all have two handles. Some of the dishes seem to be for fruit. Strange to say, there seems to be but one vase which could be used for drinking. It is certain that it was to Jupiter as a child that these playthings, small

reproductions of objects in actual use, were offered as gifts by some worshipper. Almost the only other similar collection of objects is that now in the Museum of Reggio, which were found in the tomb of a child.

When I visited Terracina in 1893, I had two photographs taken of the substructures of the temple, and shall here reproduce them (FIG. 37 and PLATE XVII), as they may add to the interest of the above notice; now that it is proved that these substructures belong to at least as early a period as the time of Augustus, their importance is considerable for the study of Roman architecture.

**VERUCCHIO.**—**EARLY ITALIC NECROPOLIS.**—Some fresh contribution to the study of early Italic culture has been brought by the new explorations made by Dr. Tosi at the necropolis of Verucchio, near Rimini. Here more than fifty tombs have recently been examined, and some of them are singularly rich in sepulchral furniture. The terracotta ossuaries, with geometrical decoration, all of the so-called Villanova type, in the shape of two truncated cones joined together at their wide base, are almost always single-handled, and with a cap-like cover on the top. The tombs in one part of the cemetery were so crowded together that the ossuaries were piled one upon another, a circumstance not hitherto observed in the necropolises of this type, but only in those of the *terramare*. This fact adds weight to the hypothesis of Helbig and Pigorini, who admit an ethnographical affinity between the inhabitants of the *terramare* and the Italians of the Villanova period. A great portion of the grave furnishings were found inside the ossuaries, together with the burnt bones, but many of the objects were also found outside. They consist, amongst others, of many bronze fibulae, of which several were very archaic; two bracelets of bronze wire, each with twenty-one spirals, still preserving their elasticity; a razor in the shape of a half-moon, with incised ornaments; and a curved iron dagger, a rare type in cemeteries of this character. Of terracottas the most remarkable is a double-crested helmet of natural size, which probably served as a cover to the ossuary of some warrior. It is an exact copy of a real bronze helmet, such as those found in the tombs of Tarquinia. We thus learn that this kind of helmet was common to the ancient settlers both on the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic shores. The handle of a cover in the form of a rude naked female figure, with the left hand on her breast, and the right on the lower part of the body, is an imitation of the bronze statuettes imported into Italy by Oriental traders.—HALBHERR in *Athenæum*, March 23; cf. BRIZIO in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1894, pp. 292-307.

**VETULONIA.**—**CLOSE OF THE REPORT FOR 1893.**—In the October number of the *Scavi*, Signor Falchi publishes the close of his report on the

excavations in the tumulus of La Pietrera. It had at first been the plan to entirely demolish this tumulus, which had yielded so many highly artistic treasures already described in this JOURNAL. But it was found, in 1893, that this total demolition would endanger the stability of the domical chamber in the centre of the mound, so that it was decided not to carry the excavations any lower than the stratum in which the rich funerary objects had been found. The removal of this much of the earth was comparatively easy. Of great importance was the discovery of sculptures in the local stone called *sassofetido*, near the domical tomb, similar in style to those already found and noticed in the JOURNAL. The best preserved of those is a fine female bust of natural size, to which probably belongs the head found during the preceding year. The arms, which are damaged, are bent, and the hands folded on the breast. The figure is without drapery, but wears a necklace and a highly decorated belt, with rampant winged lions. There is also a second bust of similar size and style, but in very bad preservation, and fragments of hands and other parts of figures. These fragments, like those precedingly found, were carved on slabs in very high relief. They were found together with large slabs of stone, and were placed in such a way as to show that they had been removed from the interior of the vaulted chamber by whoever had broken into the top of the dome.

On the east side of the tumulus was found a small cone which marked the place of a deposit of funerary objects, placed as usual around a skeleton. These objects were, however, of but little importance.

*Interior of the Chamber.*—Considerable work was undertaken in the interior of the domical chamber in order to insure its stability, and in the course of it a few discoveries were made, consisting mainly in the lower end of two statues in high relief, of natural size. The two feet placed close together, rested upon a heavy, formless base, slightly pyramidal in shape, which was fixed in the ground in such a way as to make it appear that the figures rested on the pavement.

*Excavations at Le Migliarine.*—Having finished the preceding excavation, Signor Falchi decided, in the light of all the experience thus gained, to explore some of the many tombs lying at the feet and to the northeast of the hill of Vetulonia, about three kilometres from La Pietrera, along the Emilian Way, with the object of completing, by trial excavations on different sites, the survey of the necropolis of Vetulonia. The first site chosen was at a place called *Le Migliarine*. There were here, on the left, an artificial rise of land, and on the right two small tumuli. The first trial was made in the slightly rising ground, and here there came to light a circle of white slabs placed upright in

the ground, which proved the presence of a circle tomb similar to those found at Vetulonia itself. After the discovery of minor objects of a style similar to the contents of the tombs in Vetulonia, an important funerary deposit came to light close to the centre of the mound. This consisted of: (1) a large bronze vase, with two handles; (2) gold bracelets identical in form and style to those in Vetulonia itself, two of which were reproduced in a recent number of the *JOURNAL*, and decorated, like them, with rows of heads and bands of filigree work; (3) some gold balls; (4) four gold fibulae, the body of which is formed of a winged animal; (5) some vases, dishes and two candelabras of bronze; (6) many terracotta vases of *Bucchero* ware like those from Vetulonia, etc. All these objects were placed upon a plank of black and shining wood, covered with bronze plate. Not far from this deposit were found two large stone cones, like those found in Vetulonia itself.

We may, therefore, conclude that even in the plain, about three kilometres from the central necropolis of Vetulonia, there still were no tombs belonging to a later age than those on the hill itself, and that these plain tombs contained objects entirely similar both in date and style. We may conclude that it is pretty certain that this famous city of Vetulonia fell into decay and was abandoned at last by its illustrious inhabitants at a very early date, and this date, in view of the entire absence of Hellenic vases in its tombs, may be determined to be earlier than the 6th century B. C.

*Tomb of the Potter.*—One of the two mounds on the opposite side of the road was then explored. At about two and a half metres from the centre there was found, at a very slight depth, a funerary deposit of exceptional extent, character and interest. In contrast to the other tombs, there was no trace of the usual stones, or any other sign of protection, the fact that these objects had escaped the ordinary fate, and were merely covered with earth, led to their almost complete preservation. In only two other cases has an exception been found to this general law of destruction. These two exceptions were the tomb of the Chief and that of Val di Campo. Signor Falchi calls attention to the fact that all the tombs with stoned and broken contents thus far discovered were of women, whereas these three exceptions are of men. Hence it would seem as if the stoning were confined to those tombs containing rich jewelry, which it was thus sought to render useless for the future.

The fictile objects found in this Tomb of the Potter consisted of a large number of unguent vases of great variety and peculiarity of form, arranged with great care around two bronze vases full of burnt bones, with a few other objects of bronze and iron. There were no



such objects of gold or silver, or other precious materials as were found in the preceding tomb. Among the most peculiar of the unguent vases, the following may be mentioned: (1) Vase in the form of a dead hare, its head fallen back and its limbs extended; this is the type of eight or ten vases, each varying somewhat in detail, especially in the position of the animal, and all are in very delicate reddish-yellow clay. (2) Vase in the form of a horse's head perfectly reproduced, with its harness painted in black. (3) Vase in the form of a crouching doe, with legs bent under her. (4) Vase in the form of a crouching hare, with ears stretched back. (5) Vase in the form of a goose or duck. (6) Vase in the form of an Egyptian sphynx, with beardless human head, and tail curling over and resting upon the body. (7) Vase in the form of a boot. (8) Vase in the form of a helmeted head. (9) Vase in the form of a kneeling nude female figure, with arms bent and hands closed; the long hair falls loosely over the shoulders and the opening of the vase is in the top of the head. This figure is of exceptional importance, as it is executed with a degree of naturalness and a harmony of lines and proportions such as show the potter who modelled it to have been a genius. He had the passion to imitate perfectly anything that struck his fancy. It would seem as if this is his tomb, and that in it were placed by his family the best samples of his art, together, perhaps, with the instrument of his craft, as will be later on described.

Cav. Falchi adds: "These ceramics, which are in a great part new in Etruria, but not new in the Orient, are of such inestimable value, not only for ethnology, but for the chronology and history of art, that I hope they will be the object of careful study. In this hope I call the attention of the learned to the appearance in a single tomb of these fictile objects of such great variety, which appear to have been produced by a single hand, and in particular I wish to call attention to the arrangement of the hands of the kneeling woman, with her fists closed except for the thumbs, which are pointed upward exactly as in one of the sculptures in *sassofetido* stone found in the tomb of *la Pietrera*.

The bronze objects were placed close together in the centre of the funeral deposit, and included two high and elegant wine jars, or oinochoai, a large, smooth basin, full of burnt bones, a bronze box resting on four feet, also full of bones, and finally a small instrument, with a long handle, in which is stuck a small blade of the same length, ending with a single sharp edge, which is probably the instrument used by the potter to model in wet earth the objects which he thought worthy of reproduction, some of which he must have seen in distant lands, while others he imitated from native originals. Toward the centre of

the mound there was discovered, as in the preceding circle tomb, a cone of *sassoforte* stone identical in form with all those found in the other tombs, as well of inhumation as cremation.

The exploration of the neighboring mound of the same dimensions and form, shows that it had been already searched and plundered in early days by means of a deep ditch.

*Tombs of Franchetta.*—The Pietrera hill is bounded on the south by a narrow and deep gully, called Franchetta, the opposite side of which is bounded by a low slope. Along the summit was visible a regular series of artificial rises on the surface, arranged in straight lines in ever-increasing size from below upward, and terminating in a real tumulus of considerable size. The lowest and smallest mound was first explored, and disclosed a walled circle made of stones placed together without cement, and encircling a number of tombs for inhumation, long since despoiled, and separated by large upright slabs of stone, while other slabs were used to cover them. The few objects found were of the same character and age as those found in all the other tombs.

The second tomb, instead of being surrounded by a wall of stones, was encircled by large white slabs of *sassovivo*, placed on end near each other. The diameter of the circle was 18 m. and the height 4 m. A square hole in the centre, measuring 4 m. by 2 m. by 2.30 m., contained two skeletons. Upon the head of each was placed a beautiful bronze ax, in perfect state of preservation. Its round and heavy iron handle was covered with a heavy bronze plate. It is valuable as showing the manner in which the head of the ax was secured to the handle. Probably its perfect state of preservation is due to the fact of its being an instrument for religious use. Near it was a bronze incense-burner, similar to others already found, and a conical helmet in poor condition. On the chest of the same skeleton were various bronze fibulæ, covered with gold leaf, and others with amber bow. All the rest of the central cavity had been destroyed by means of a deep trench which had cut through the centre of the skeletons.

The third tomb differed from the preceding only in its slightly larger size, and it also contained a central cavity, which, like the others, had been explored in early times. It contained the remains of a skeleton and no objects of importance.

While the preceding three tombs projected so slightly above the flat surface as to allow of easy cultivation, the fourth was a genuine tumulus of pronounced shape, 4.30 m. in circumference. It was bounded by a stone wall, which formed a terrace, and is still preserved in some proportions. Although this mound appeared not to have suffered from exploration, it had evidently been anciently visited, and

nothing was found in it but an object left by chance, namely, a fragment of a statue of natural size, similar to one found last year in the great mound of the Pietrera, but of far greater importance. The fragment consists of the head, with part of the neck and chest, and is remarkable as having been executed up to a certain point and then, when still unfinished, thrown away. It is, therefore, of extraordinary value in its very incompleteness, as revealing the process used in blocking out sculptures at this early date. The head, like that of the Pietrera, is of a woman. In regard to its date, Cav. Falchi regards it as contemporary with the first domical chamber of the Pietrera, whereas the second tomb described above is evidently later than the destruction of this first chamber, as it contains some of the blocks of stones with which it was constructed. Falchi goes so far as to believe that this head, blocked out and then thrown away, is that of the same person whose finished head was found in the Pietrera mound, so close are the similarities.

Cav. Falchi closes as follows: "This report does not complete the account of the excavations on the hill of Vetulonia in the autumn of 1893, for there should be added to the magnificent results obtained by the exploration of its necropolis, a description also of the still more magnificent results obtained in the area of the city itself of Vetulonia, within the circuit of its great walls, telling of the uncovering of part of the city, of its walls preserved after an early fire, of its streets, its wells, the many objects found in its ruins, including many coins, which in great part belong to Vetulonia itself. But as Professor Milani has anticipated such information in his two reports, one called *Una Seconda Vetulonia*, printed as manuscript and communicated to the *Lincei* in June, 1893, and the other entitled *Le Ultime Scoperte Vetulonesi a Colonna*, read at a meeting of the *Lincei* on November 26, I shall speak of them in my report of future excavations, which I hope to be permitted to continue, not only in the necropolis, but also in the ancient city."

EXCAVATIONS DURING 1894 ON THE SITE OF THE LATER CITY.—The continuation of the excavations at the site called *Poggiarello*, led to the uncovering of a large tract (106 m.) of the main street of a city, thought to be the late Vetulonia (the city built by the people who abandoned the ancient Vetulonia), and of a new series of rooms along this street which seemed to have been used as shops. The street, which is 3.30 m. wide, has no sidewalks, and shows no traces of the usual ruts formed by wheels of vehicles. The coins gathered among the carbonized ruins in these rooms confirm the chronological conclusion expressed in the *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1894, p. 844 sqq. There are a number of Etruscan coins, such as a Quinarius of Populonia, and an ounce of

Vetulonia, and six sextants, also of Vetulonia. There are many Roman coins of the sextantial and uncial periods. One coin dates from 88-89 B. C. The latest coin is one attributed by Babelon to the year 84 B. C., which would harmonize with the opinion of Professor Milani, that the city which from the hill of Colonna overlooked the main roads of Maritime Etruria, was burnt at the very time (79 B. C.) in which Volterra and Populonia, falling into the hands of the followers of Sylla, suffered the destruction which befell all the Etruscan cities that had espoused the cause of Marius. Only a few objects of art were found in the course of exploration of these rooms; among them are two bronze statuettes of an Etruscan-Roman divinity, or rather a domestic lares, such as the Romans called *Jupiter Salvator* or *Genius Jovialis*.

An attempt was made to excavate in a stratum below the Roman level; but nothing was found that could be definitely dated from the Etruscan period. The casual discovery, however, of a late Attic vase, leads to the hope that systematic excavations within the Pelasgic walls may bring to light some traces of the pre-Roman city.

EXCAVATIONS DURING 1894 AT THE OLD VETULONIA.—*Necropolis*.—The excavations in the necropolis during 1894 were successful. At a short distance from the Pietrera tumulus, on the street of the tombs, were found the remains of a rectangular structure, 9.40 m. by 6.10, built of large blocks of stone without cement, but worked with a chisel. In two were found fragments of fictile decoration belonging to the period between 350-250. In the same part of the necropolis, and precisely where last year was found the magnificent gold fibula decorated a *pulviscolo* with figures of animals, there was found a circle tomb in which, together with many fragmentary bronzes, there came to light a well-preserved bronze boat. It is smaller and more simple than that of the tomb of the Chief (see JOURNAL for 1888), and corresponds almost exactly with that of the museum of Cagliari, published by Pais (Perrot, iv, fig. 83). An interesting feature of this vessel is a handle ending in a hook, surmounted by a decorative animal in massive bronze, formed by two affronted ram's heads.

*Poggio alla Guardia*.—On this part of the site, not far from the street of tombs, there were found under a mass of stones two cylindrical *situlas* of reddish-yellow earth, decorated, the one with eleven horizontal bands in relief, of the rope pattern; the other with ten lines of the same decoration. These are the first *situlas* of this characteristic type that had been found in this necropolis, and their importance is great in connection with the origin and the development of this vase, which is the prototype of the *cista a cordoni*. Together with these pails were found five umbilicated platters of the same reddish-yellow earth,

an unguent bottle of the Greek islands, and other fragments belonging to a tomb of the eighth century.

On the same site, but among the Italic well tombs, there were found five tombs of the class called, by Falchi, tombs of strangers. These funerary deposits correspond to those of the circle tombs in which there are no remains of either buried or burnt bodies, except certain crowns of teeth which were often found near the most precious objects. One of these deposits has given a number of cast bronzes of a new type, with decoration of human, animal and floral forms belonging to the very beginning of Etruscan art. Another of these deposits is composed of simple necklaces of amber and of bronze, but is remarkable for a pendant in the form of a miniature chariot with its horses, and two persons seated in it. What is most interesting about this chariot is, that it is not in the form of the usual *biga*, such as have been found in the shape of toys in some Italic tombs, but seems to present the original type of the Lucumanian *carpentum* of the Etruscans and Romans. The two persons seated on a high-back bench seem to be a man and his wife, and remind one of Livy's description of the chariot upon which Tarquinius Priscus and his wife Tanaquil arrived in Rome, and of that used by Tullia after the murder of the second Tarquin. It appears to be drawn by mules.

From an already disturbed tomb in this vicinity, there comes a monument which will at once attract attention, and is the most important object found during the excavations of 1894. It is a stele of sandstone, 1.07 m. high, .56 m. broad and .16 m. thick, upon which is a long Etruscan inscription, and beside this has scratched upon its surface a warrior walking toward the left, with a pointed beard, wearing a helmet with a crest and *coda*, and holding in his right hand a large iron shield; between the legs is a lanceolated palm. The emblem on the shield is a star of six rays, obtained by segments of a circle. The helmet corresponds to a couple of others found at Vetulonia, but the battle ax with short handle and double edge, with which the warrior is armed, does not correspond to any of the arms which have heretofore been found in the excavations. The inscription is in parts very difficult to read; it begins with the well-known prenominal *aules*; its palæography corresponds to the inscription on the cup in the tomb of the Chief.

Professor Milani concludes as follows: "In the technique and character of the decoration, this stele, the first which had been found at Vetulonia, recalls the well-known ones of Lemnos, Pesaro, Novilara, and the region of Padua. But in the subject and in other respects, it should be rather connected with the sculptured steles of the plain of Volterra, especially those of the plain of Fiesole described by me in

the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1889, pp. 153, 154; 1892, p. 465, and compared with the monuments of the Hittites. Ethnographically, and through its Asiatic resemblances, the double battle-ax of the warrior is especially remarkable, called in Greek πέλεκυς, ἀξίνη, λάβρυς, βάνπληξ, and in Latin *securis*, *bipennis*, *dolabra*. We find it used by the Trojan Pisander in attacking Menelaos, drawing it out from beneath his shield (II. XIII, 611), and also by the Trojan warriors in the fight of the ships (II. XV, 711). This is the weapon of Zeus Labrandeus, of Karia; the weapon of Zeus Dolichenus, of Lykia; the weapon, or attribute, of the Pelasgic Dionysos, of Tenedos, which passed also to Pagasi in Thessaly, to Heroia in Arcadia and in Thrace (Myth of Lykourgos); it was the primitive attribute of Hephaistos, the great maker of weapons of the Tyrrhenian-Pelasgic Lemnos; the weapon of the Amazons, of the Scythians, and the Hittites (Perrot, IV, p. 800, fig. 279). The Asiatic or Pelasgic origin of this weapon is thus evident, and I therefore see in its presence at Vetulonia, on a monument which is certainly one of the most archaic of Etruria proper, and which in other ways also recalls Asia Minor and the Pre-Hellenic and Tyrrhenian-Pelasgic settlements, a new and eloquent argument in favor of the Asiatic, of the Pelasgic or Pelargic origin of the Etruscans."—*Not. d. Scavi*, 1895, pp. 22-27.

DATE OF THE EARLIEST MONUMENTS.—M. Salomon Reinach, in his Asiatic news in the *Revue Arch.* 1894, refers to my note in this JOURNAL IX, p. 213, on the domical structure at Vetulonia, adding that of course I cannot possibly mean that it belongs to the seventh century B. C. Such, however, was the date that I intended. I simply follow in this the opinion of the two men most conversant with the excavations, Prof. Milani and Cav. Falchi. In fact Milani, on p. 24 of the *Scavi* for 1895, has changed his opinion, and would refer the sculptures and architecture of this monument to an even earlier date—to the eighth, rather than to the seventh century—and in a note says that for many reasons, which he will give elsewhere, he is of the opinion that the chronology of the earliest architectural and figured Etruscan monuments should be given an earlier date. I should not myself venture to regard the above monument as earlier than the seventh century.

This date, in so far as it relates to the sculptures, especially to the steles that are so similar to the Hittite sculptures of the ninth and eighth centuries, is certainly not too early, and I cannot explain M. Reinach's objection to it, for which he gives no reason.—Ed.

#### Early Christian, Mediæval and Renaissance Art.

BIBLICAL SUBJECTS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.—M. Müntz presented a paper to the *Académie des Inscriptions* on Christian art and the illus-



trations of the Old Testament to be found in the works of art belonging to the early times of the Church. The v century might be considered as the golden age in Biblical painting. Thanks to the numerous poems which were devoted at this time to the book of Genesis, a number of episodes previously unknown to the Romans became popularized both in Italy and Gaul. The popularity of these Israelitish subjects is exemplified by the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome, executed between the years 432 and 440. M. Müntz states that these compositions, contrary to the generally received opinion, are completely independent of the celebrated poem of Prudentius—the "Dittochaion." The artists have gone directly to the Bible for their inspiration, and consequently their forty compartments have barely sufficed to trace the history of the Jews from Abraham to Joshua; whilst Prudentius had comprised in twenty-four metrical stanzas the whole of the Old Testament from Adam to the Babylonish captivity. In the v century, likewise, the illuminators had taken in hand the stories of the Old Testament; and although these miniature illustrations of manuscripts were designed for the select classes, and not, like the mural decorations, intended to appeal to the common people, nevertheless it is possible to quote instances where these almost microscopic pictures have served as a model for large frescoes and monumental mosaics. It has been lately shown that many of the miniatures of the celebrated Cottonian Bible (v and vi centuries) have been reproduced, in an enlarged form, in the mosaics of the basilica of St. Mark at Venice (xiii century). A recent publication, of which M. Müntz exhibited specimens to the Academy, now permits us to study, in the minutest details, the most ancient illustrated manuscript of the Bible, the Greek Genesis of the Imperial Library at Vienna. These miniatures, the style of which offers many analogies with the catacomb paintings, are in turn conventional and realistic.—*Athenæum*, Sept. 15.

**BULLETTINO DI ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA.**—A group of the friends and pupils of the lately deceased De Rossi have undertaken to continue the publication of the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, founded by this illustrious archaeologist. Its programme is to be made broader, and it is to be henceforth open to contributions from all archaeologists devoted to Christian antiquities. The directing committee is composed of MM. Enrico Stevenson, M. S. De Rossi, Mariano Armellini and Orazio Marucchi. We had heard with great regret the news that this unique and indispensable review was to cease its publication, and this later news is extremely welcome. The review will be called the *Nuovo Bullettino*, in order to distinguish it from the earlier series of De Rossi's review.



## THE PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION OF ITALIAN MONUMENTS.—

In connection with the detailed inventory of works of arts in churches and convents, which was commenced some time since by the order of the Minister of Public Instruction, it has been ordered that such works shall always be exposed to view to the public during the hours when churches are open, and since that time the curtains that often covered the paintings have been removed and the sacristy doors are no longer closed.

With a view to employing the best means for the preservation and restoration of ancient paintings in Italy, the Minister of Public Instruction has opened a competition on the ancient and modern technique of all kinds of painting, including mosaic work. The competitive memoirs presented will be judged in June, and a prize of 3,000 francs given to the winner.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. 4.

**NANNI DI BANCO.**—Marcel Reymond continues in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (Jan., 1895) his studies on *La Sculpture Florentine au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. His second paper is on Nanni di Banco (1374(?)–1421), the contemporary of Ghiberti, Donatello, Quercia and Luca della Robbia. Had he not died comparatively young his fame would undoubtedly have equalled theirs. M. Reymond points out Vasari's arrant injustice towards Nanni, and believes that he exercised great influence in forming Donatello's talent. Three of Nanni's fine statues at Or San Michele are earlier than Donatello's first statue, and when the commission of carving the Madonna over the door of the cathedral was given to Nanni it was a recognition of him as the foremost sculptor of the day. His style was nobler, broader, purer and more monumental than that of any other Italian sculptor. He is the connecting link with the XIV century.

**ITALIAN ART IN THE TYROL.**—Herr Schmoelzer has published in the *Mittheil d. kk. Central-Commission* (Vol. 21, No. 1) a description of the works of art in the churches or chateaux of southern Tyrol. Many of these belong to the Middle Ages or the early Renaissance. At Volano is a Last Judgment, dated 1514, by Francesco Verlas, of Vicenza, and other paintings of about 1500, of the Venetian or Paduan schools. In the church of San Rocco and in the church of St. Ilario, near Rovereto, are frescoes of the end of the XII century. At the castle of Avio are paintings of the purest Giottesque type, and in the chapel others that are semi-Romanesque, semi-Gothic. At the church of Vivezzano there is a fine portal of the XVI century, painted glass of the same period, sculptured tombstones and a remarkable treasury. At Serso and at San Biagio near Levico are frescoes and sculptures of about 1500.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. 6.

**AQUILEIA.**—DISCOVERY OF EARLY CATHEDRAL. — Count Lanckoronski, of Vienna, has intrusted to the well-known archæologist, Niemann,

some excavations at Aquileia around the Romanesque cathedral of this city. They have already resulted in the discovery of the remains of an earlier church.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. 3.

**BOLOGNA. — NICOLÒ DELL' ARCA.**—The reliquary of San Domenico in the church of the same name at Bologna, designed by Nicola Pisano, was modified, as is well known, when the grand chapel to this Saint was constructed, and there was added to this reliquary a splendid marble top carved by Nicolò da Puglia, who is known on this account as *dell' Arca*. He finished the pyramidal top and the festoons with graceful *putti*, the statue of God the Father on the summit, the Ecce Homo with two angels, the four prophets, the saints Dominico, Francesco, Floriano, Vitale and Agricola, and the angel at the left bearing a candlestick. An ordinance of the Commune of Bologna, dated the 3d of June, 1469, retains all engaged in the work upon this reliquary to continue until its completion. This ordinance was repeated the 19th of September, 1470. Unfortunately, all the documents referring to this monument are no longer in the archives of the city of Bologna, but have been restored to the General of the Dominican order. In the *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, Sept.-Oct., 1894, is published a document which holds Nicolò and his associates to obey the directions of the Society of Arts of the city. In the same number of the *Archivio* is published a document concerning the image of the Virgin, which is now placed upon the façade of the Palazzo Publico at Bologna.

**RAPHAEL'S ST. CECILIA.**—It is well known that this painting now in the Royal Picture Gallery of Bologna, was ordered from Raphael in the year 1513 by Helena Duglioli, wife of Benedetto dall' Olio, a notary of Bologna. The story goes that one day she had an inspiration from on high to construct a chapel in the church of St. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna, in honor of St. Cecilia. Antonio Pucci, her parent and protector, was put in charge of the construction of the chapel, and her uncle, Lorenzo Pucci, made the contract with Raphael for a painting for the high altar. The chapel was finished in 1514. The following document has been found in the archives of the city of Bologna: "In the year 1514 the blessed Helena, wife of Mons. Benedetto dall' Olio, a notary and citizen of Bologna, caused to have built the chapel of St. Cecilia and had Raphael of Urbino paint the picture of St. Cecilia, to cost a thousand golden scudi, and presented it to the church of St. Giovanni in Monte, with other sacred objects." Amongst the documents of the convent of St. Giovanni is found the deed of gift of the altar, bearing the date September 9th, 1516, and signed by the notary Antonio Monterenzi.

**DATE OF THE DEATH OF ALFONSO LOMBARDI.**—Vasari rightly gave the date of Alfonso Lombardi's death as 1536, but other writers upon this artist hav-

ing observed that his birth took place in the year 1487 and that his portrait in the second edition of the *Lives of the Painters* represented him as an old man, inferred that his death must have taken place many years after the date fixed by Vasari. Girolamo Baruffaldi in his life of this sculptor puts his death as late as 1560. In the archives of the city of Bologna there is preserved a letter from the Duke of Mantua, dated the 7th of December, 1537, which speaks of Alfonso Lombardi as already dead. This letter, therefore, settles the accuracy of Vasari's date.

**GUIDO RENI'S SAN CARLO.**—The archives of the city of Bologna contain a letter from the Senate of Bologna to their Ambassador at Rome, dated April 2d, 1614, and directing him to make payment to Guido Reni for the painting of the picture of San Carlo, to be placed in the church of the Medicants at Bologna. This letter, therefore, enables us to fix the date of the picture.

**NOTICES OF PAINTINGS BY GUIDO RENI, CASTELLINO, CAVEDONI, GILIOLI DA CARPI, IN SAN SALVATORE.**—The church of San Salvatore in Bologna was constructed between the years 1605–25; the names of all the contractors, with the architects, painters, etc., are found in the archives of the Canons of San Salvatore, now preserved in the archives of the city of Bologna. These show that payments were made at various dates between the years 1620 and 1625 for paintings by Guido Reni, Castellino, Cavedoni, Gilioli and Girolamo da Carpi.

**ARTISTS OF THE XIV TO XVI CENTURIES AT BOLOGNA.**—In the series of *documenti giudiziari* and other documents preserved in the archives of the city of Bologna, as many as one hundred and twenty-nine entries of artists living in Bologna from the year 1347 down to 1654 are published in chronological order in the *Archivio*. These comprise the names of architects, sculptors, painters, miniature painters and goldsmiths.—*Archiv. Stor. dell' Arte*, Sept.–Oct., 1894.

**FLORENCE.—DISCOVERY OF CH. OF S. LEO.**—At Florence, in the works going on in the centre of the city, there have been discovered the remains of the ancient church of St. Leo, which was one of the first parishes established in the town. The outer walls are in network (*filaretto*). The principal door has elegant mouldings, and at the sides a lozenge decoration of black and white marble.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, March 2.

**A SCULPTURED ROMANESQUE FONT.**—A very important piece of sculpture of the XII century has been added to the Museum. It is a large baptismal font from the neighborhood of Lucca. It rests upon a very solid twisted base, upon which are two small figures symbolising baptism and the devil. The basin has a diameter of 1.40 m., and is decorated with open-mouthed masks to carry off the water. The dome

above it is the most important part of the monument. Above are the twelve Apostles and below the twelve months of the year represented by figures draped in ancient style, whose attitudes or actions correspond to each of the months. Unhappily many of the heads have been knocked off, and the marble is in poor condition. The total height of the monument is 3.50 m., and its proportions are harmonious. Its importance is increased by the rarity of works of sculpture of this century.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. 4.

**STATUE OF BONAFACE VIII.**—The statue of Bonaface VIII, which originally formed part of the decoration of the façade of the Cathedral of Florence, was attributed by Vasari to Andrea Pisano. It had been lost sight of for several centuries—since the façade was demolished in 1588—but has now been returned not to its original position on the façade, but has been placed inside the main doorway. It was discovered in the Rucellai gardens some years ago by M. Müntz, purchased by the antiquarian Bardini, and finally given to the city of Florence by the Duke of Sermoneta on the condition that it should be placed in the façade.—*Chronique*, 1895, No. 4; cf. *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1895, No. 3.

**A PICTURE BY NICOLAS FROMENT.**—M. Trabaud contributes to the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* a study and an outline of a painting of a tryptich in the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, which is classified under the works of the Flemish school. It is, however, signed by a well-known French artist, Nicolas Froment, and dated 1461. The inscription reads: NICOLAUS FRUMENTI ABSOLVIT HOC OPUS XI. K. L. JUNII MCCCCLXI. This painting originally belonged to the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts, but was given to the Uffizi in exchange for a Taddeo Gaddi. The central composition represents the resurrection of Lazarus; the right hand side, Martha kneeling before Christ, and the left side Mary Magdalen washing his feet.—*Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, February, 1895, p. 157.

**THE DISCOVERY OF A WORK BY FRANCESCO DI SIMONE FERRUCCI.**—Among the last works of this pupil of Andrea Verrocchio, Milanese, in his commentary to Vasari, mentions a tomb to Lemmo Balducci, placed in the hospital of S. Matteo, in the year 1472. This hospital was transformed into a church in 1735, and the church was demolished when the present Academy of Fine Arts was built in 1783. Venturi recently suggested that the bust in the Academy belonged to this tomb, and now B. Marrai has discovered considerable remains of this work of Ferrucci. According to the description by Del Migliore, an eye witness, the tomb had the form of the sepulchral monument of Pandolfini in the Badia in Florence, and contained a tablet with an inscription by Poliziano. This is now preserved upon the cenotaph of Lemmo, which is now in the church of S. Maria nuova, where it

was placed in the year 1845. The form of the tomb has been changed considerably; of the original tomb there remains only the base with two lions' heads in relief. The frieze with the arms of the defunct and his medallion likeness is applied to a sarcophagus of later date. The bust of Lemmo appears to have been not by Ferrucci, but by some artist of the following century. This bust formerly stood in the niche now filled by Michel Angelo's statue of St. Matthew.—*Repert. für Kunstwissen.*, 1894.

REDISCOVERY OF AN IMPORTANT BOTTICELLI.—In the Pitti Palace itself there has remained practically unknown an important painting by Botticelli. This picture was hung in a room of the second story occupied until lately by the Duke of Aosta. It might still have been hanging in this unworthy place had not an English artist, Mr. William Spence, visited the Duke and recognized the work as a Botticelli. The painting is a high canvas picture with two life-size figures. To the right is a youthful woman who holds in her left hand a mighty halberd and with her right seizes a centaur by the hair, whose expression and gestures are indicative of pain and subjection, although he is armed with a heavy bow and a quiver of arrows hangs over his horse-body. On the back of the female figure hangs a buckler. Her hair falls below her waist in waves, and around her head, arms and breast are twisted slender olive twigs. Her free drapery is covered with triple rings, each adorned with a diamond. The subject of this picture is not altogether clear, though one is inclined to think of the female figure as an Athena. But the association of Athena with a centaur is so unusual that we are inclined to look for a symbolic meaning, such as the triumph of wisdom over brute force; perhaps in this case the triumph of the intelligence of Lorenzo il Magnifico over the unskilled power of his opponents. That the painting was made for Lorenzo is evident from the frequent appearance of his device upon it. Vasari tells us that Botticelli made for Lorenzo a picture of Athena, but the painting to which he refers represented Athena as standing over burning branches. The painting shows the same broad and decorative handling as the birth of Venus, and must have been painted about the same time; perhaps it belonged to a cycle of large canvas pictures for one of the villas of Lorenzo. Both in color and drawing this picture belongs to the best period of Botticelli.—H. ULMANN in *Kunst. Chronik*, March 21, 1895.

There is a good half-tone reproduction of the picture in *Harper's Weekly* (New York) of April 13.

Prof. Enrico Ridolfi, director of the galleries of Florence, was the first to make the painting known in an article on the discovery in the *Nazione* (*An.* xxxvii, No. 61) of Florence, and this is summarized in

the *Chronique des Arts* for March 16. Pallas is robed in a white tunic under green drapery; her blonde hair falls on her shoulders. Ridolfi believes the subject to be the glorification of Lorenzo by the subjection of the genius of discord or violence. It may have been executed about 1480, when Lorenzo, returning from Naples, where he had succeeded in detaching Ferdinand I of Aragon from the league against Florence, was received with great festivities, which were described by Angelo Poliziano. He identifies it with the picture mentioned by Vasari.

Mr. Berenson has published an article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (June 1, 1895, p. 469) accompanied by the finest reproduction yet given, a Dujardin photogravure. He denies that the painting is the one mentioned by Vasari, because Vasari says the figure of Pallas stands on fire-brands, and does not mention any second figure: besides the measurements and proportions of the canvases appear to have been very different.

Mr. Berenson, after speaking of the identity in style of the new *Pallas* with the *Fortezza*, and dating both from 1480, proceeds to show how by means of this fixed date it is possible to give approximate dates to a number of other works of Botticelli, for reasons of style. Evidently in 1480 there is hardly a trace left in his style of the influence of the Pollaiuoli. Hence he dates Botticelli's famous chef-d'œuvre, *Spring*, from the spring of 1478, as it still shows strong Pollaiuoli characteristics. Finding greater harmony of line in the *Birth of Venus* he dates it after the *Pallas*, and before the Sistine frescoes which rather abuse the linear element. This would date the *Venus* at latest from the spring of 1482, as the Sistine frescoes were commenced in the same autumn. The Villa Lemmi frescoes are later.

THE MEDICI COLLECTION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—M. Müntz writes in the *Chronique* a letter on the modern works of art which formed part of the Medici collections of the sixteenth century. He announces that fifteen years ago he was able to study the inventory of the Guardia Roba of the Medici, so rich in indications on the works of art preserved in Florence. The text of these is about to be published in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions* by M. Müntz, accompanied by a commentary, which is particularly complete in relation to the works of ancient art belonging to the first Grand Dukes. In general Müntz has not undertaken to identify the more recent works of art, leaving that to the Italian directors of the Florentine Museums, but he contributes here some notes upon the subject.

The Medici collections received certain works through the munificence of Popes Leo X and Clement VII; for example, the Laurentian



Library and such works as the superb vases in rock crystal, some of which bear the initials of Lorenzo the Magnificent, while others are the work of Valerio Belli. To the same Pope is due the copy of the Laocoön by Baccio Bandinelli.

The collection had been reduced to but very few pieces when Cosmo took the reins of government. He first added a number of ancient statuettes (such as the Chimera, the Minerva and the Etruscan orator), medals, vases and antiquities of all kinds, then modern works, such as sculptures, paintings, miniatures, cameos, etc.

The inventories are interesting as showing how free the restorations of ancient works were at that time, and how difficult it must be to distinguish now between the ancient work and the modern additions. Thus the inventory of 1571-1588 reports: "A statue of Venus, nude, in marble, larger than life size, standing with a Cupid at her feet, bought from Cardinal Colonna, without head, without arms, and with only one leg, restored by Master Sylla, who added to it an ancient head and made its missing members March 12, 1584."

These inventories give also much information on the reproductions of ancient works executed in the sixteenth century. The following may be gathered from them in regard to recent works of art: Donatello is represented by a composition of several figures in relief. Michelangelo by a model in stucco of his "giant" (probably David), by an unfinished David, by a metal reproduction of the Christ, of the Minerva, by a torso copied from a river god. In 1590 a bronze bust of Michelangelo entered the collection. Jacopo Sansovino is represented by his marble Bacchus and his bronze copy of the Laocoön. There are numerous statuettes by Bandinelli,—the bronze Venus, the bronze Hercules, the marble Bacchus, a bust of Cosmo. There is a Gladiator (1583) by Ammanatti. Other sculptors are named as being charged with the repairing of antique statuettes and for the execution of works. Such are Piero da Barcha, who has the title of sculptor of the Duke, Aliprando Capriolo of Trent (1584); Silla, who worked under the orders of John of Bologna (1584). As for the latter sculptor, his name often occurs. In 1578 he finishes his bronze crucifix, in 1580 his bronze Mercury, in 1584 three bronze statuettes, then a sleeping woman, a kneeling woman and the standing Hercules. It is known how numerous are the smaller Florentine bronzes at the close of the sixteenth century, especially the statuettes which are ordinarily regarded as a work of John Bologna. The inventory of 1571-1588 gives a long list of such works executed by Piero da Barcha.

Among the paintings, whose artists are mentioned, are a Virgin by Pontormo, also the author of a Venus and Cupid, three pictures by Andrea del Sarto, two Madonnas by Bronzino, by whom were also a



Saint Cosmo and a Saint John, as well as several sculptures. Among those that can be identified are such famous works as the portrait of Leo x with two Cardinals, by Raphael, and the portrait of Cardinal de Medici by Titian, which are both now in the Pitti.—*Chronique*, No. 9, 1895.

PORTRAIT OF MICHELANGELO.—In a monograph recently published in Florence, Sig. Caetano Guasti gives an account of a portrait of Michelangelo which hitherto has received little attention. This portrait, which is in the possession of Count P. Galletti, seems to be the likeness of the master noted by Vasari as having been painted by Giuliano Bugiardini for Ottaviano de' Medici. Guasti determines the date of this portrait to be the year 1532. Michelangelo was then 57 years old, with which age the appearance of this portrait corresponds very well. By means of this attribution the portrait of Michelangelo in the Louvre assigned to Bugiardini must be set aside, since an inscription upon that picture describes the master as in his 47th year. Two other portraits of Michelangelo, one in the possession of the Baldi family and another in that of Chaix d'Estang, claimed to be by Bugiardini, must also be set aside. Guasti judges from the modeling of the head and strength of the coloring that Michelangelo gave to this portrait the final touches himself. It is much to be desired that this painting should be examined by a thorough expert, on account of its importance for the history of art.—C. v. FABRICZY in *Repert. für Kunstwissen.*, 1894.

LODI.—S. MARIA L'INCORONATA.—Some new information concerning this interesting monument was published by L. Beltrami in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo* in 1893. The decree for building the church was made on the 16th of October, 1487, and in the following year the contract for the building given over to Giov. Jacomo Batacchio, who twenty years earlier was a mere mason at the hospital at Lodi. According to the wording of the contract the architect also undertook the terracotta ornamentation and figured decoration; accordingly we must now attribute to him not only the decoration on the capitals and pilasters of the lower octagon, but also the relief busts which decorate the arcades.—C. v. FABRICZY in *Repert. f. Kunstwissen*, 1894.

MILAN.—THE FIRST ARCHITECT OF THE CASTLE.—In the *Perseveranza* of the 9th of September, 1893, Luca Beltrami publishes a document of the date July 1st, 1450, showing that Giovanni must have been assisted by Marchaleone da Nogarolo, who must have been the first architect, as Giovanni died in December, 1451. His place was filled three years later by Bart. Gadio, of Cremona.—*Repert. f. Kunstwissen.*, 1894.

MILAN (NEAR).—DISCOVERY OF RENAISSANCE FRESCOS AND RELIEFS.—In an article in the *Perseveranza* of the 16th of February, 1894, the indefati-

gable investigator, Diego Sant Ambrogio, notices the hitherto unobserved frescoes well preserved upon the façade of the church of Vigano Certosino, near Gaggiano. They represent the annunciation, a glory of angels about God the Father and some figures of saints of the Carthusian order. In a medallion under the rose window is found the characteristic likeness of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, on both sides of which are shields with the inscription CAR(thusia) GRA(tiarum). These paintings have been found to be by Bernardino de Rossi, who is known to have made the frescoes in the atrium and in the entrance portal of the Certosa at Pavia.

A second discovery is an altar painting by Aurelio Luini, in good condition and surrounded by its original rich frame. It represents the Madonna and Child with John the Baptist kneeling before her and on either side S. Matthew and S. John the Evangelist, Sta Chiara and S. Stephen.

Finally, S. Ambrogio has discovered the original of the altar of the Certosa at Pavia, in a little church at Carpiano, near Melegnano. It is an original and documented work of Giovanni da Campione, of the year 1396, in the form of an altar table, the four sides of which are decorated with eight reliefs in marble, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin. Of the baldachino there remain the four spiral ornamented columns. This altar appears to have been taken to Carpiano in the year 1518.—*Repert. f. Kunstwissen*, 1894, p. 248.

PARENZO.—NOTE ON THE CATHEDRAL.—In view of the notice on the mosaics of the cathedral of Parenzo, published in a late issue (ix, pp. 482-4), we add the following note, connected mainly with its architecture and with traces of structures anterior to the present building, which belongs to the VI century.

At the June meeting (1894) of the Society of Christian Archæology in Rome, the Secretary, Prof. Marucchi, presented some drawings and photographs of the cathedral of Parenzo, recalling that he had previously spoken of it in connection with a publication of Dr. Amoroso. The drawings presented showed the successive structures which had been erected between the III and the IV cent. Some recent discoveries made by Mgr. De Peris resulted mainly in ascertaining two notable facts: first, the remains of the presbytery with the episcopal throne in the centre of the main nave and in front of the altar; and, secondly, the tomb of the martyr S. Maurus, made in the form of an arcosolium enclosed within the structure itself of the apse. It still remains difficult to assign certain dates to the various successive constructions, and especially to the primitive oratory which finally was supplanted by the magnificent cathedral.—*Bull. Arch. Crist.*, S. v, an. iv, No. 4.

PAVIA.—VANDALISM AT THE CATHEDRAL.—We judge that in building a façade for the Cathedral of Pavia which was left without one by its Renaissance builders, considerable vandalism must have been indulged in toward the remains of the ancient church of S. Maria del Popolo. The ancient cathedral of Pavia was composed of two churches—S. Stefano and S. Maria del Popolo—which were connected, one being used in summer and the other in winter. The people of the Renaissance with their usual self-sufficient vandalism started to build a great cathedral on the site of S. Maria del Popolo, but they only got as far as the choir. The work was taken up again on several occasions since the xv century and each time a further piece of the old church has been demolished, until now, when the façade is being finished, but little remains of the old work.

Dr. Taramelli says, "I must express my sorrow at the destruction, without a well-matured plan, of one of the finest and most ancient basilicas of northern Italy." One of the most interesting characteristics of the ancient church was that when, in the xii century it was rebuilt and covered with cross-vaults, its columns were left and used as the centre of the Romanesque grouped piers. See *Not. d. Scavi*, 1894, pp. 87-9: also Dartein, *Archit. Lombarde* and Taramelli's monograph.

An even stronger protest is made by Beltrami in the last issue of the *Archivio Storico Lombardo* (1894, iii, p. 249). He tells how, in demolishing the front part of the present building to make way for the new façade, much more of the ancient structures came to light than was supposed: that twice the local Direction was obliged to order the suspension of the work in order to secure any exact record of the ancient constructions that were being demolished: that the action of the local direction was paralyzed by the complete lack of interest of the clergy in the memories of the past history of their church. It would have been perfectly possible to have preserved in the new construction some of the columns of the primitive wooden-roofed basilica which were enclosed in the Romanesque piers.

ROME.—A FRAUDULENT COLLECTION OF EARLY CHRISTIAN SACRED OBJECTS.—Father Grisar has rendered a great service to Christian archaeology by proving conclusively the falsity of a collection of so-called early Christian sacred objects supposed to have belonged to a Bishop, and which for over ten years has excited great interest and attention, especially since the greater part of the objects came into the hands of Cav. Giancarlo Rossi, of Rome, who has published drawings of all the objects, accompanied by a text of nearly five hundred pages. This collection, if genuine, would be the most wonderful discovery ever made of this kind; there is no treasury of early Christian works that

can even approximate it in value, variety and extent. Although the many authorities on early Christian art who have examined it and written about it have expressed wonder at the unusual nature of the symbolism and style, and have varied greatly in the date assigned the objects, few of them have even questioned the authenticity of the collection. Father Grisar examines it from every point of view. He shows, in the first place, that the circumstances and place of the discovery are still shrouded in a mystery which is not only suspicious, but which can not be satisfactorily explained. He proves that the symbolism is that of the early Christian period, with many new features due to a vivid modern fancy, while the style is an imitation of works of the eighth and ninth centuries, of barbaric Lombard character. The forger, beginning with objects rather modest in appearance, on finding their sale so easy and profitable, indulged in the manufacture of works of greatest magnificence, such as would have seemed strange indeed to any prelate of the early church. This is especially the case with an episcopal gold crown and an episcopal mitre, such as never appeared in art until after the eleventh century. The forger carefully avoids the use of anything that would injure the attribution of these objects to the earliest Christian period, or would betray a modern hand. Not a single inscribed letter is to be found on any of the objects, nor is there a single nimbus or monogram—features which would be almost inevitable in any works in the style of these forgeries. Finally, a material proof of the forgery is given by the examination of some of the objects by experts, who were unanimously of the opinion that the flexibility of the silver was such as to make it impossible that these objects should be ancient, for silver loses its flexibility with age. They also proved that the oxidation was artificial, and produced by sulphuric acid. Here endeth, therefore, the famous treasury.

**THE HOUSE AND BURIAL PLACE OF ST. BRIDGET.**—In restoring in 1893-94 the Church of St. Bridget in the Piazza Farnese, in Rome, there was found on the architrave of the door an inscription in late Gothic letters reading *DOMUS SANCTE BIRGITTE VASTENENSIS DE REGNO SWECI INSTAURATA AD ANNO DOMINI 1513*. It was known already that the church was erected in honor of St. Bridget, who died in Rome in 1373. It was not known, however, that she died at S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, where her body was buried in a marble sarcophagus of the fourth century, and where part of her relics remained until 1892. These facts are brought out by Baron von Bildt in the *Manadsblad* of the Academy of Stockholm in 1893.—GRISAR in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1895, No. II.

**BENVENUTO CELLINI.**—One of the defects attributed by historians to Cellini is his lack of veracity, especially in his having laid claim to

the murder of the Bourbon. While certain proof of this deed is still lacking, other documents uphold his veracity, and five such documents preserved in the secret archives of the Vatican are now published in the *Archivio storico dell' Arte*. Cellini had written that Clement VII had made him master of the dies of the mint, which fact is recorded in document I. Another document in the same archives even substantiates his statement that he was paid six scudi a month. Farther on in his autobiography Cellini wrote that he received the office of Servant of Arms at a salary of two hundred scudi. Document III proves that this statement was also true. Finally Cellini wrote that at the instance of Latino Giovenale he received from Pope Paul III a passport of safety after the murder of Pompeo de Capitaneis. Document IV shows that this passport was given in October, 1534. That Cellini was permitted to pursue his art in safety is shown by document V, which contains an order for payment to Cellini on account of work done toward the close of 1534. These documents, therefore, render tribute to the veracity of Cellini.—FRANCESCO CERASOLI in *Archiv. stor. dell' Arte*, 1894, pp. 372-374.

ROME (NEAR).—A BYZANTINE MONUMENT AT GROTTAFERRATA.—At a meeting of the Society of Christian Archæology in Rome, the drawing was shown of a monument in the Abbey of Grottaferrata, which represents the mass according to the Greek rite of the place, the abbot being distinguished by the encolpion. The priest has before him two vases and a bread and a half on the altar, figuring perhaps the communion under the two elements. By his side an assistant holds an implement for cutting the bread. The most remarkable thing about this work is the combination of the ideal with the realistic representation, for below the eucharistic fish is carved. This piece of sculpture, until now unknown, appears to belong to the X or XI centuries.—*Bull. Arch. Crist. S. V*, an. IV, No. 4.

SYRACUSE.—CHRISTIAN CATACOMB.—The catacombs of S. Giovanni, the exploration of which was begun last year, have yielded in this campaign about a hundred new inscriptions, of which one bears the name of a bishop of Syracuse not hitherto known.—*Athenæum*, Sept. 8, 1894.

VENICE.—MUSEUM REORGANIZATION.—The recent celebration at Venice of the silver wedding of the King and Queen of Italy and the centenary solemnities of St. Mark has been made by the government the occasion of a reorganization of the Academy of Fine Arts and of the Archæological Museum. The work has been effected by competent men under an order from the Minister of Education, who recognized the necessity of a complete rearrangement of both collections. Old documents disclose the fact that Titian's well-known "Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple" was originally painted for the large hall of

the suppressed Scuola di S. Maria della Carità, now occupied by the Academy of Fine Arts. Hence sprang the idea of replacing this picture, which every one knows to be one of the chief attractions of the Academy, in its original position, so that the full effect intended by Titian should be obtained. This has been done. From similar motives, one of the side rooms has been remodelled so as to reproduce exactly the octagonal chapel of Saint Ursula, where formerly were Carpaccio's scenes from the legends of this saint. Paintings by Bellini, Sebastiani and others, removed hither from the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista, have likewise been placed in positions corresponding as nearly as possible to the original. The contents of the Archæological Museum had been in even worse disorder than the Art Gallery, so that a large part of the collection had been wholly withdrawn from exhibition. To Dr. Lucio Mariani, of Rome, was given the task of bringing a scientific classification out of this chaos. The new arrangement has led to the opening of five additional rooms in the Ducal Palace, which have hitherto been closed to the public. The decorations of the walls and ceilings, as well as the fine chimney-pieces, add to the interest of these rooms. Both the entrance and the exit to the Ducal Palace are now, in consequence of these changes, by the Scala d'Oro, which increases the impressiveness of a passage through these rooms. A branch of the Scala d'Oro, ornamented by remarkable stuccoes, is also now opened to the public for the first time. The action of the government in making its contribution to the Venetian festivities one of permanent interest will be appreciated by future visitors.—*N. Y. Nation*, May 30, 1895.

#### SICILY.

**MARSALA-LILYBÆUM** — INSCRIPTION OF SEXTUS POMPEIUS.—At Marsala, amongst the slabs of an ancient pavement, an inscription has come to light which is of considerable historical interest, as it records the celebrated triumvir Sextus Pompeius and his legate L. Plinius Rufus. It is to be remarked that this is the first time that we learn the legate's correct name, which had hitherto been handed down by authors in a mistaken form, as also his full titles. The inscription refers to the works of the port and towers of Lilybæum. Prof. Salinas is now occupied in excavating the Carthaginian walls of the city.—*HALBHERR*, in *Athenæum*, March 23.

The inscription has been purchased for the Museum of Palermo. It reads:

MAG · POMPEIO MAG F · PIO IMP · AVGURE  
COS · DESIG PORTUM · ET TVRRES  
L · PLINIVS · L · F · RVFVS · LEG · PRO · PR · PR · DES · F · C



It is the only record yet found of Sextus Pompeius' absolute rule on the island during seven years, from 43 to 36 B. C., and as it gives him the title of Augur, it must be after 39 B. C.—*Not. d. Scavi*, 1894, pp. 388-391.

**NETUM.**—The identification of the Siculo-Greek town of Netum with Noto Vecchio, destroyed by the earthquake of 1693, has been heretofore founded solely upon a rock-cut inscription of this locality. I have recently discovered in the neighborhood of this rock two other pure Greek monuments, Heroa in the form of large rock-cut rooms. The walls contain sanctuary niches, some of which preserve still the remains of sculptures and inscriptions, unfortunately in bad condition. These Heroa of Netum recall two others almost unknown, in the adjoining town of Akrai, provided with numerous niches and with inscriptions of the same character.—*Orsi*, in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, Aug.-Oct., 1894.

**SELINOUS.**—An article in the *Cologne Gazette* gives an account of the excavations during the last few years at Selinous. Little by little the Acropolis is being uncovered. Its general plan is already evident. There are two main streets crossing one another at right angles; the sites of five temples have been identified, one dedicated to Apollo, another to Aphrodite; the circuit of the wall, with its two large gates and its four towers to them, two circular and two square, have been determined. These latter constructions, in Pelasgic style, doubtless belong to the very earliest period of the Italic races. The Greeks, coming later, erected the temples. Here and there a large number of terracotta objects have been found. In a single chamber near the Propylæa 1200, and near by, in the foundation of the temple, 11,089 were found. Their workmanship is in general crude. Figurines have also been found by thousands, of extremely variable artistic value, some of them very beautiful and others very poor. In certain cases there remain traces of color. Among others is an admirable female head, with the face painted white and the hair red.—*Chronique*, 1895, Nos. 1 and 6.

Professor Halbherr reports: "At Selinunte, where excavations have been conducted for some time with considerable success, during the past year a large building has been disinterred, of peculiar form, situated beyond the Selinus and above the propylæa. Although without peristyle, it possesses all the other characteristics of a temple, and the votive objects found at the same time confirm this judgment. These latter consist of an enormous heap of terracottas, bronzes, and fragments of glass. Of lamps alone more than ten thousand have been collected. Amongst the archaic *figurini* many are remarkable for the valuable traces of painting they preserve. The report now presented



by Prof. Salinas, of Palermo, embraces all the work done at Selinunte from the outset, of which hitherto only the discovery of the famous metopes in 1892 had been made public. A large portion of the splendid northern wall of the acropolis and of the fortifications constructed in 409 B. C., by Hermocrates of Syracuse, as also some important remains of an earlier period, are now laid bare. The thicket which covered the western wall has been cleared away, and the whole extent of the diggings on the acropolis having been thus brought to view, an accurate plan has been made of the whole by Signor Rao. Amongst late discoveries must be mentioned a head in Greek marble, somewhat injured, attributed to the fifth century B. C., and resembling in some particulars the head of Zeus on a well-known Selinuntine metope; an archaic inscription bearing a dedication to Demeter, with the epithet Malophoros; a number of terracotta *figurini* of archaic epoch and orientalizing style; and several fragments of terracotta reliefs, some of which belong to the rim of a kind of *perirhanterion*, 68 centimètres in diameter, having a representation of the Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles. The latest discovery of all is that of a hoard of several hundred Campanian coins perfectly preserved, having on one side the head of Janus bifrons, and on the other Jupiter in the quadriga.—HALBHERR in *Athenæum*, March 20.

**SYRACUSE.**—The continuation of the excavations in the large Greek necropolis, called Del Fusco, have this time proved even more fruitful in results. About 450 tombs have been excavated, which are for the most part amongst the most ancient in Syracuse. There are monolithic sarcophagi, graves rigorously oriented, cinerary urns and amphorae for the rite of incineration. The prevailing use is that of burial, but incineration exists at the same time. Certain vases were used to preserve the bones: they are in shape a prototype of the amphorae with colonettes and decorated with paintings of the primitive geometrical style, with some elements which recall the Dipylon. Other urns contain the bodies of infants not burned, besides sculptures. In the sarcophagi and outside there have been gathered a number of terracotta vases representing different phases of Corinthian pottery of proto-Corinthian style. Geometric zoomorphic and Corinthian black-figured vases occur exceptionally. In silver, there were found, earrings, rings, mounted scarabs, lentoid pearls; in bronze, fibulae "a navicella," "a bastoncini," and "a cavalluccio"—types not yet observed in Archaic Greek burials. Another novelty consists of fibulae of iron, the bow of which is covered with ivory or amber. Several scarabs of glass paste were found. The tombs which have been explored belong to the end of the eighth century and first half of the seventh, and occupy a comparatively narrow space. Some have been destroyed,

others merely carried away by barbarians, who, several centuries after Christ, opened narrow trenches near or in the midst of the Greek burials. Every indication of the origin of these robberies is lacking.—ORSI in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, Aug.-Oct., 1894.

**THAPSOS.**—The modern Magnassi possesses a large Sicilian necropolis with beautiful tombs cut in the rock in the form of little *tholoi*. It has been to a great measure ransacked at a remote period by searchers for metal. Nevertheless, I have made finds very important for history and archæology. The necropolis, which belongs to the second Siculan period, contemporary with the Mycenæan civilization, shows the first attempts at architectural decoration of the façades of the tombs. Vases of local make are in forms of every variety. One novelty seems to have been the attempt to reproduce the forms of animals in the Siculan vases. One finds Siculan amphoræ for the most part of small dimensions. Of Mycenæan character are also some swords and daggers of bronze. Various objects in glass paste may be considered to be Phœnician imported objects, like the Mycenæan ware. Although Thapsos has been considered by modern historians as a Phœnician settlement in Sicily, no traces of Phœnician tombs have been found there.—ORSI in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, August-October, 1894.

#### FRANCE.

**SCULPTURE IN EUROPE BEFORE GRÆCO-ROMAN INFLUENCE.**—Under the above study M. Salomon Reinach commenced in *L'Anthropologie* for 1894 a series of articles which, when completed, will be a systematic review of the development of sculpture in a field hitherto omitted from the histories. We will give an extended review of this study when it is completed. Thus far three papers have appeared. M. Reinach thus announces his scheme: "The general histories of ancient plastic art mentions more or less briefly the sculptures and engravings of the reindeer period; then passes to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean to establish there for tens of centuries its observatory, returning to the west only with the Etruscans and the Roman legions, to note there works of decadence derived from those made familiar to it in the Oriental world, at Athens, Ephesos, Pergamon and Alexandria.

"I have here attempted to investigate a domain that history has omitted, to compare and classify the first attempts of native European plastic art. . . . The materials I have gathered and used for this purpose are primitive sculptures in stone, terracotta and metal. The latter are especially numerous. Dispersed in museums under more or less vague names, such as Celtic, Etruscan, Gallo-Roman or Barbarian, they are far from having all been published or even described."

But one serious effort has been made to call attention to them: this was by M. R. Forrer in a series of articles entitled *Primitive Menschliche Statuetten aus Bronze*, published in the review *Antiqua* (1887-1890). M. Reinach studies only figured sculpture, because the study of decorative work of this style is far more advanced. Neither does he go so far back as the "quaternary," or cave period. In regard to the method followed in his study, M. Reinach shows how impossible any chronological and how inconvenient any geographical arrangement would be; he therefore proceeds by the study of types and their various ramifications, taking, as far as possible, his point of departure among the monuments discovered in the western part of Europe, and using such places as Troy, Kypros, Mykenai, Olympia, merely for comparison, and abstaining altogether from illustrating types found entirely in Eastern Europe. He lays especially stress upon the monuments of pre-Roman Gaul, even when they cannot be classified under any international series of types.

**ORIGIN OF GALLO-ROMAN ART.**—M. Salomon Reinach believes that the origin of Gallo-Roman art should be sought in Egypt of the Ptolemaic period, and, more specifically, at Alexandria, which was in commercial relationship with Marseilles, Narbonne and Nîmes. It can hardly be doubted that from this source came the finest pieces of goldsmithswork of the treasures of Bernay and Hildesheim. The monuments of Orange, of Saint-Remy and Igel, were constructed and decorated by a school of Alexandrian artists.—Communication to the *Acad. des Inscr. in Revue Arch.*, 1894, I, 110.

**CHARTRES.**—**EXCAVATIONS UNDER THE CATHEDRAL.**—The excavations undertaken mainly for practical purposes under the pavement and among the foundations of the Cathedral of Chartres are the most extensive ever made, and gave results of considerable interest for the history of the site. A popular account of them is given in the *Semaine Religieuse de Chartres*, and is reproduced in the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1894.

**HARFLEUR.**—**DISCOVERY OF A GALLO-ROMAN TEMPLE.**—M. Albert Naef has conducted excavations above Harfleur, at a site on which there stood a small Gallo-Roman temple. There came to light a quadrangular *ædicula* surrounded by a colonnade, and also a number of sculptured objects.—*Revue Archéologique*, 1894, I, 113.

This note in the *Revue* is supplemented by M. Naef's own report in the *Ami des Monuments*, 1894, p. 147. The excavations were begun June 27, 1893, and finished in August. They covered an area of 400 square metres. The small temple is on the top of a hill, and consists of two square enclosures, almost exactly oriented to the cardinal points, the small square cella in the centre, and the peripteral colon-

nade 13 metres per side, of which, however, only one side has been ascertained surely to exist. Although extremely ruined, enough remains to show that both the exterior and interior of the cella had a polychromatic decoration—both walls and ceiling. The most curious and rare object found is a small tripod, the like of which had not been found in the province. It is ingeniously constructed so as to be let up or down according to the diameter of the vase it was to support.

A coin of Valentinian found on the very remains of the demolished walls, gives perhaps the approximate date of the destruction of the cella, c. 366–75 A. D.

OISSEAU.—DISCOVERY OF A GALLO-ROMAN CITY.—Some important excavations have been undertaken at Oisseau (Sarthe) by M. F. Liger. The town is 9 kilom. south of Alençon. The discoverer recognized in the numerous ruins scattered over the territory of Oisseau, the vestiges of a Gallic city destroyed at the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. The buildings still remaining, such as temples, circus, aqueduct and constructions of all sorts, are scattered over a surface of over a hundred hectares, including the remains of a Gallic *oppidum*. Was this the ancient Vatigorum of Ptolemy, or Nudiodum? Certain it is that here we have a Gallic settlement to which the Romans added a city. Among the buildings brought to light several are of considerable size. One, whose use is still unknown, is fully 75 met. long. The theatre, with all of its substructures still intact, has a diameter of 55 metres.—*Ami des Monuments*, 1894, p. 23.

LOUVRE.—EARLY CHRISTIAN VASE.—A large silver vase, adorned with Christian subjects in relief and coming from Homs, the ancient Emesa, in Syria, was offered to the Louvre in 1892. There was a wide difference of opinion in regard to its date, the v, the vi and the x centuries being among those proposed. A cast was sent to Comm. G. B. de Rossi, in Rome, who, after speaking of the importance and rarity of the work, said: "It is impossible to doubt that this is a work anterior to the Byzantine period. The technique of the *repoussé* work, the classic style and the Christian iconography, all agree in placing it in the fifth rather than the sixth century. The very lack of the nimbus around the Saviour's head, a comparison of this vase with the *capsulae*, silver boxes and burettes of the fifth century, the gold bracelets of Aquileia, are so many indications of this date. . . . The four apostles by the side of Christ are easy to identify by their iconographic characteristics: Peter and Paul, John (beardless), James, the cousin of our Lord, whom he is made to resemble, a Nazarine with long hair. The Virgin is surrounded by angels.—*Bull. Soc. des Antiq.*, 1893, p. 84.

ITALO-BYZANTINE IVORY.—An ivory at least as early as the sixth century has been purchased. It appears to have formed part of the decoration.

of a throne like that of Bishop Maximianus, at Ravenna. This relief represents a crowd of people listening to the preaching of an apostle whose type is the usual one given in early monuments to St. Paul. In the background is a city built in Roman style: at the windows and balconies of all the buildings stand numerous figures. M. Saglio, who presented a notice of this work to the *Soc. des Antiquaires*, believes it to have been executed, not at Byzantium, as might be thought from the costumes, but in Italy.—*Bull. Soc. des Antiquaires*, 1893, 127.

**BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.**—The Bibliothèque Nationale has recently acquired a collection of primitive Greek coins in electrum, which were found together in the island of Samos. According to M. Ernest Babelon, their date cannot be later than the middle of the seventh century B. C., and they are thus among the very earliest examples of coined money. They bear various devices—the head of a lion, a flying eagle, an eagle devouring a hare, a rose, a ram lying down, etc. They are all struck, with mathematic precision, from staters to obols, according to the Euboic standard of 17.52 grammes to the stater. M. Babelon therefore infers that the so-called Euboic standard must have originated in Samos, whence it was imported to Euboea, and afterwards spread throughout the Greek world.—*Academy*, June 30.

**PONT-AUDEMER.**—**VANDALISM.**—The Church of Notre-Dame-du Pré, at Pont-Audemer, was a charming monument of the XII century, in fair preservation. It was sold in 1892, and the new owner has removed the roof, scratched the walls, columns and capitals, and removed some of the capitals and the greater part of the remarkable carved corbels.—*Bibl. École des Chartes*, 1893, pp. 790–1.

### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

**FRENCH ORIGIN OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.**—At the late congress of the Sarbonne, M. Enlart read a paper on the French origin of Gothic architecture in Spain and Portugal. Its principal agents were the monks of Cluny and Citeaux and the numerous bishops of French origin. Cluny gained possession in the XII century, of all the Spanish churches and Citeaux of the Portuguese. The school of Cluny is eclectic, borrowing from Auvergne (Cath. Compostella), Aquitaine (S. Isidore, Leon) and Burgundy (Camprodon, Cath. of Sigüenza and Lugo, nave of S. Vincent, Avila). The Cistercians follow the style of Aquitaine even more than that of Burgundy, combining both in such churches as Veruela (1146), Poblet (1153), Santas Creus (1157) and Val de Dios (cons. 1258): the latter not having even the Cistercian plan. At Alcobaza, in Portugal, they imitate both the plan of Clairvaux and the Gothic architecture of Poitou

and Anjou. Under their influence the cloister of the Cath. of Tarragona is built in imitation of that of Fontfroide and Valmague. The priests and bishops from the S. W. of France, who built the cathedrals of Zamora (cons. 1174) and Salamanca (do.), and the Coll. Ch. of Toro (do. and XIII cent.), which have the domical cross-vaults and the conical towers like those of the churches of Perigueux, Saintes and Poitiers.

All these monuments are followed by others of greater importance and more perfect Gothic style; such as the cathedrals of Burgos (cons. 1230), Toledo (beg. 1229) and Leon (fin. c. 1300). The first two closely imitate Bourges, and the third belongs to the same perfected and pure style as the cath. of Beauvais, the chapel of S. Germain-en-Laye and S. Urbain of Troyes. Its west porch is an exact copy of the side porches of the cathedral of Chartres, and its statuary resembles that of Rheims.

In Catalonia the Gothic style continues to follow, in the XIV cent. that of Languedoc, witness the cathedrals of Girona and Manresa, and the church of Lamourguie.—*L'Ami des Monuments*, 1894, p. 145.

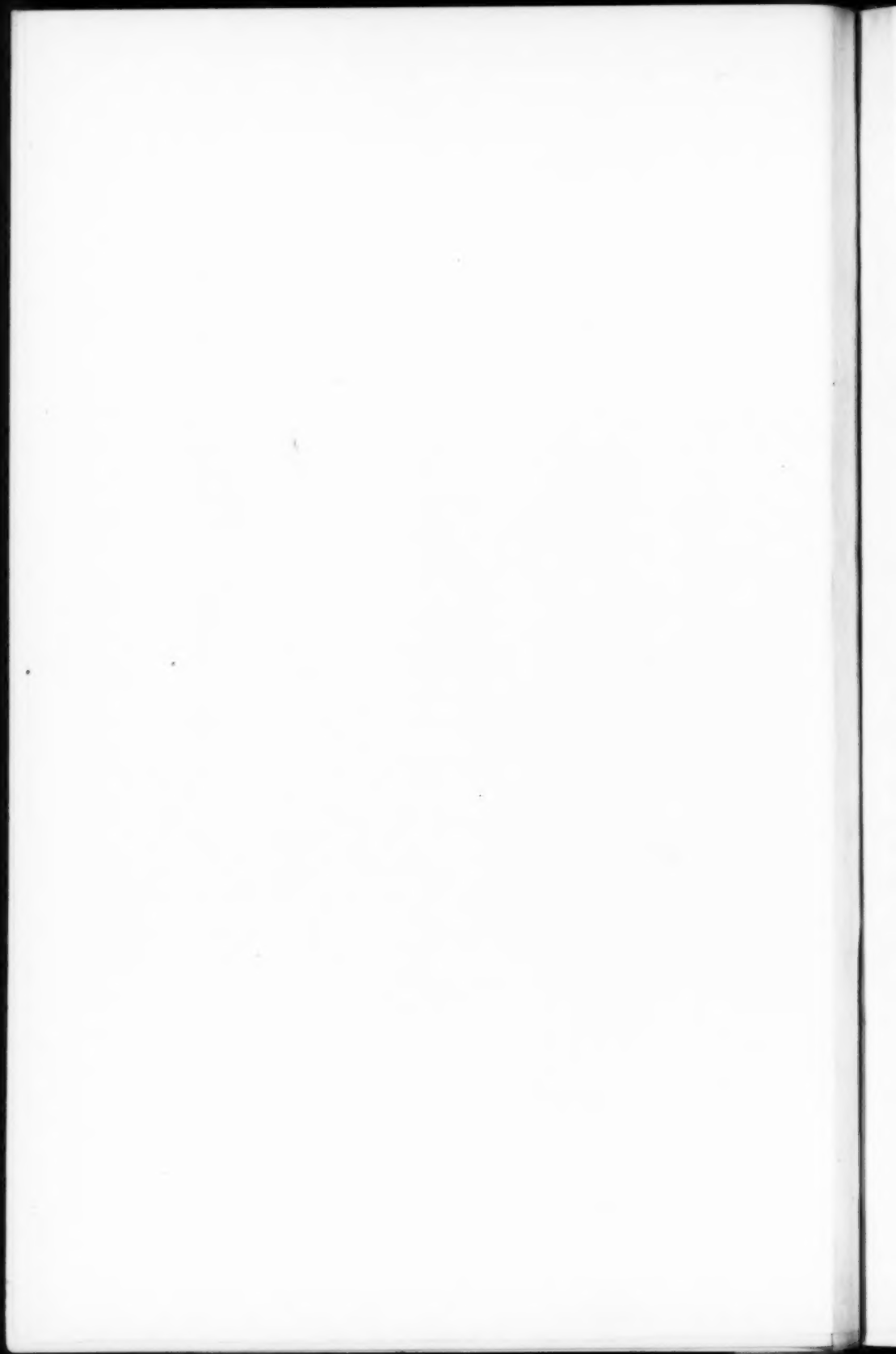
#### SPAIN.

VICH.—A NEW MUSEUM.—In 1889 a museum was founded at Vich by its bishop, Mgr. Don Josè Morgades y Gili, and in 1891 it was inaugurated. The first volume of its catalogue, together with a series of photographs of the principal pieces in the museum, was presented on June 3, at a meeting of the Society of Christian Archaeology in Rome. Among the objects should be mentioned especially: the paintings on wood of the Romanesque school of the X, XI and XII centuries, and those of the Gothic school between the XIII and XVI centuries; the early crucifixes in wood and bronze called *Majestats* in Catalonia; various sculptures representing the Virgin, executed between the X and XVI centuries; the collection of oriental stuffs, especially the two famous pieces known under the names of *pali de les Brinxes* (or chimera), and *Sudari de Sant Bernart* (who was Bishop of Vich in the XIII century). The Rev. S. Pedro Bofill y Boix, who presented both catalogue and photographs, spoke also of the restorations carried on by the bishop of Vich in the basilica S. Maria de Ripoli, and called attention to the great importance of the monument, which is called *Triumphal Arch of Christianity* in Catalonia.—MARUCCHI, in *Bull. di Arch. Christ.*, S. V, an. IV, No. 4.

A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR.  
ALLAN MARQUAND.

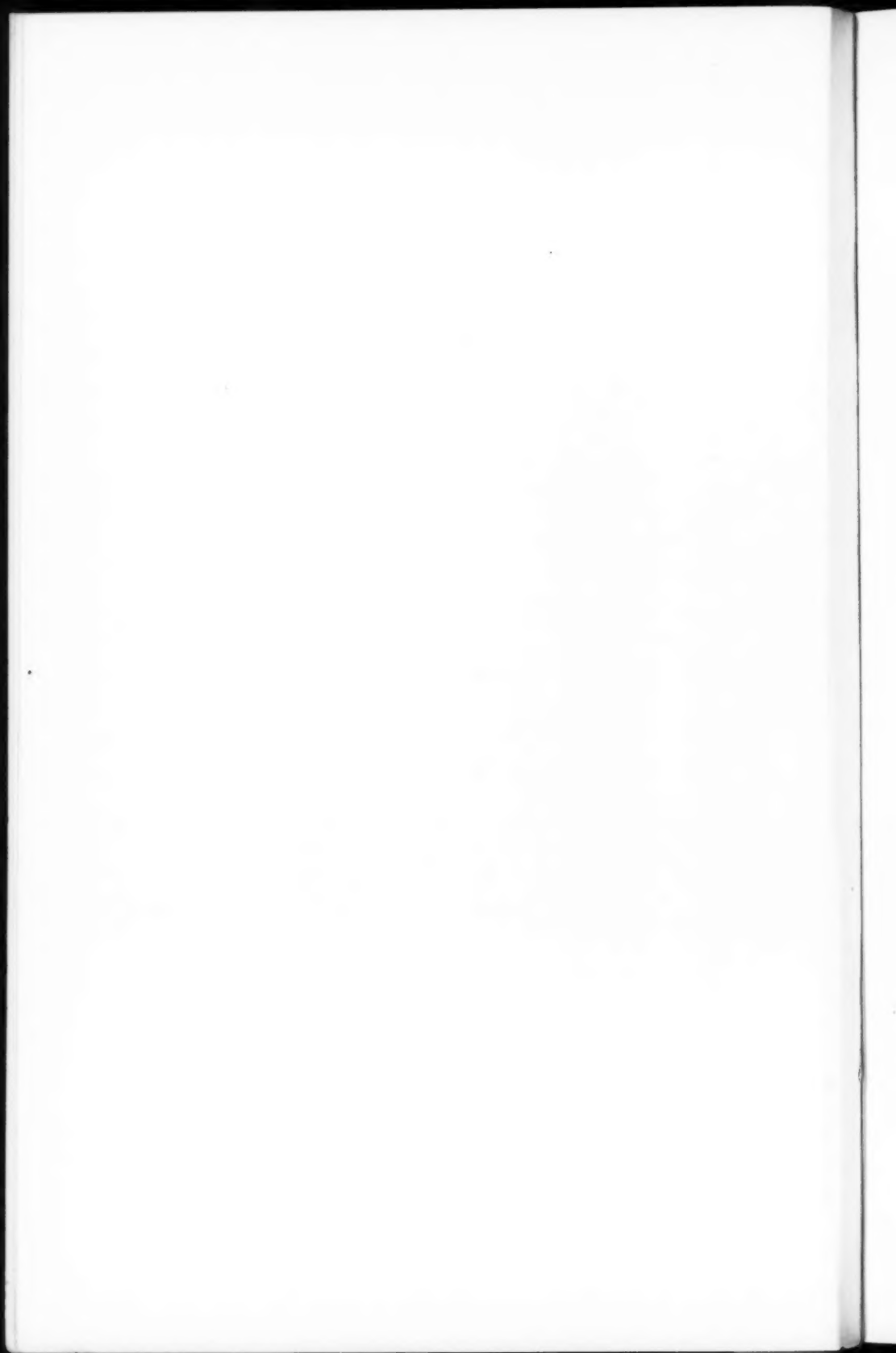


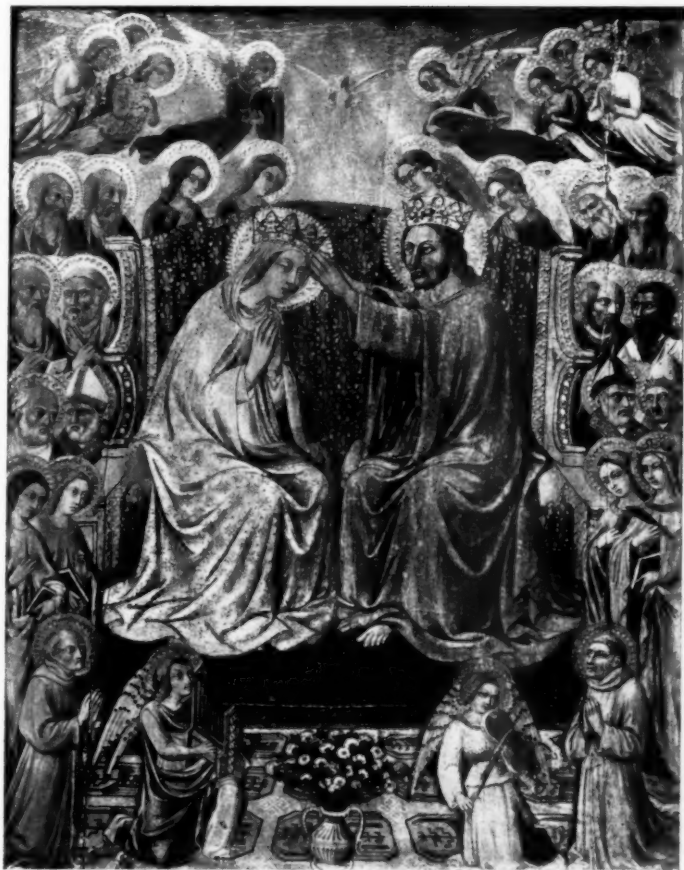






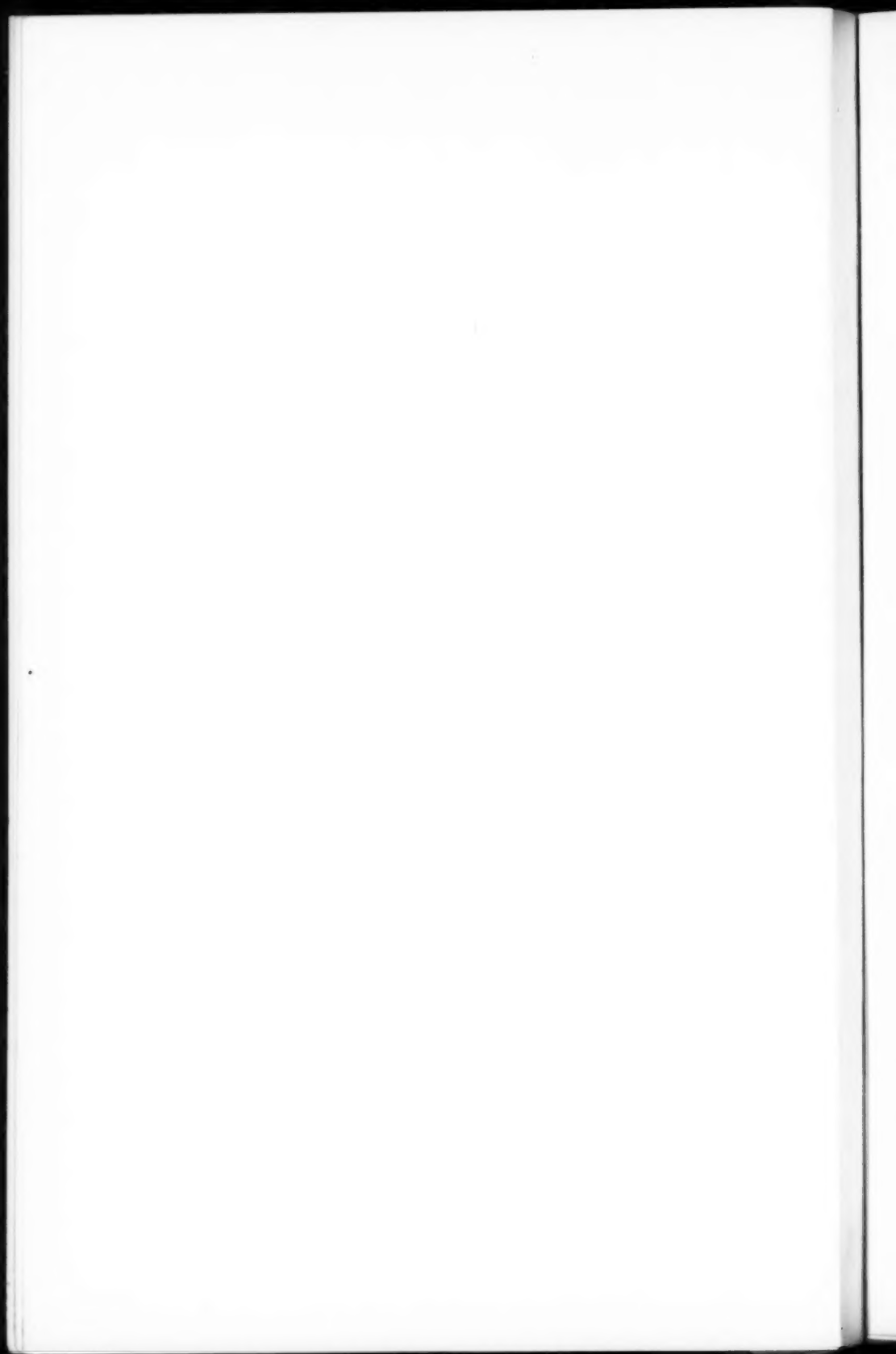
DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS  
By Antonio Veneziano.





CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

By Sano di Pietro.







MADONNA, CHILD AND TWO ANGELS.  
BY MATTEO DI GIOVANNI.

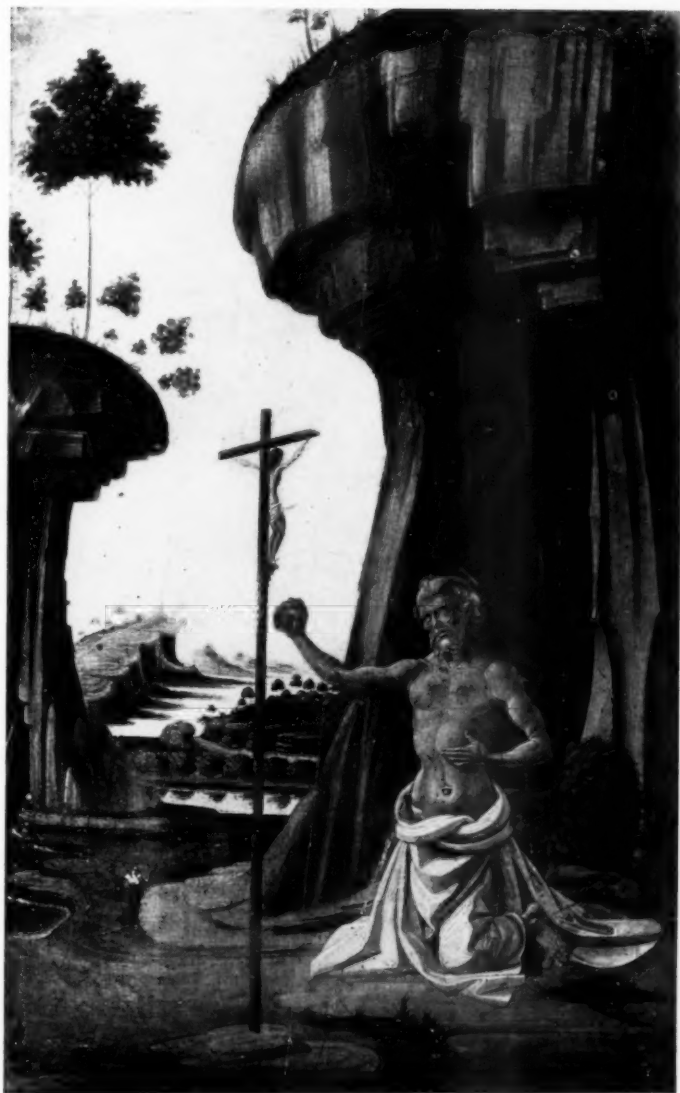




VIRGIN AND CHILD

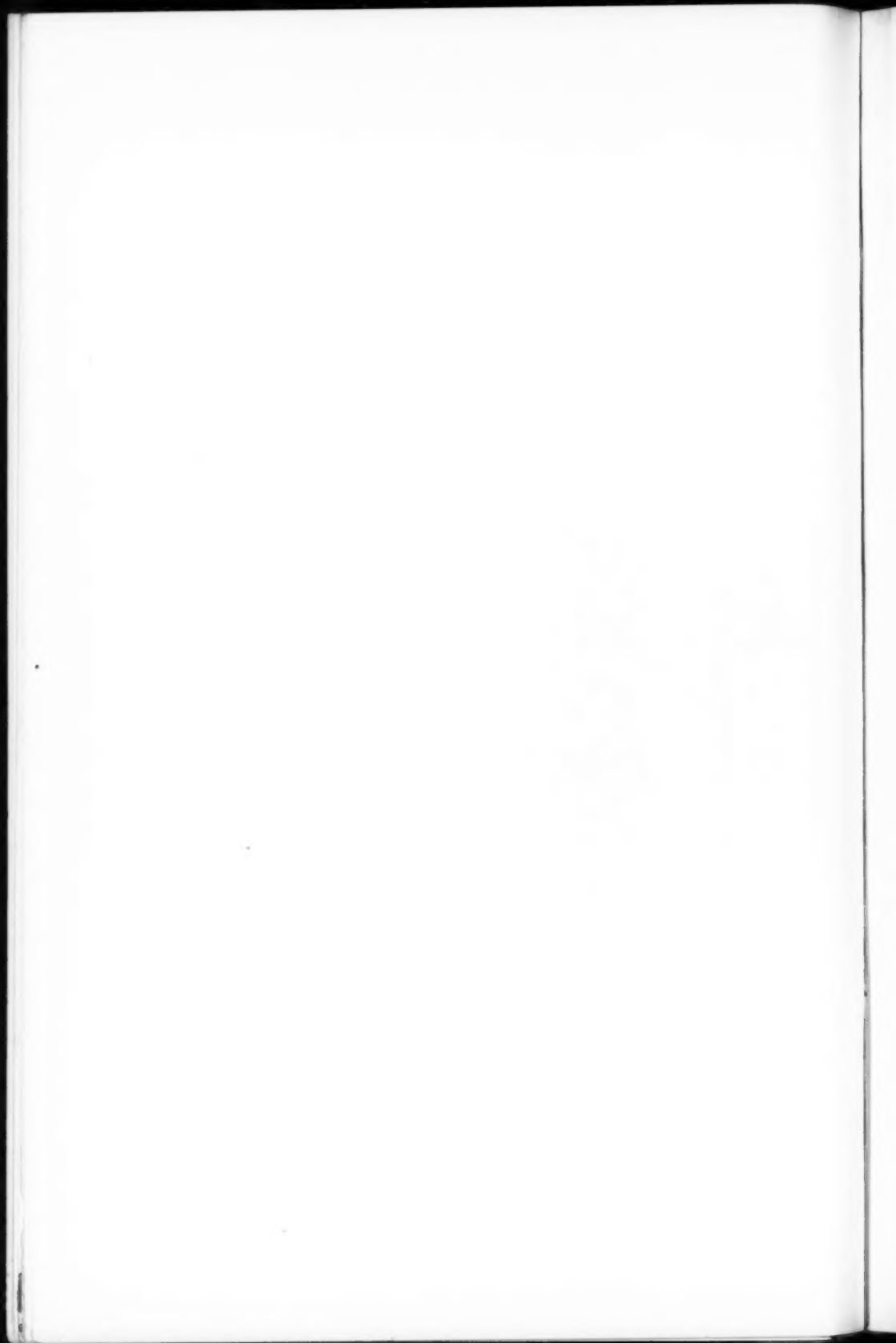
By Gentile da Fabriano.





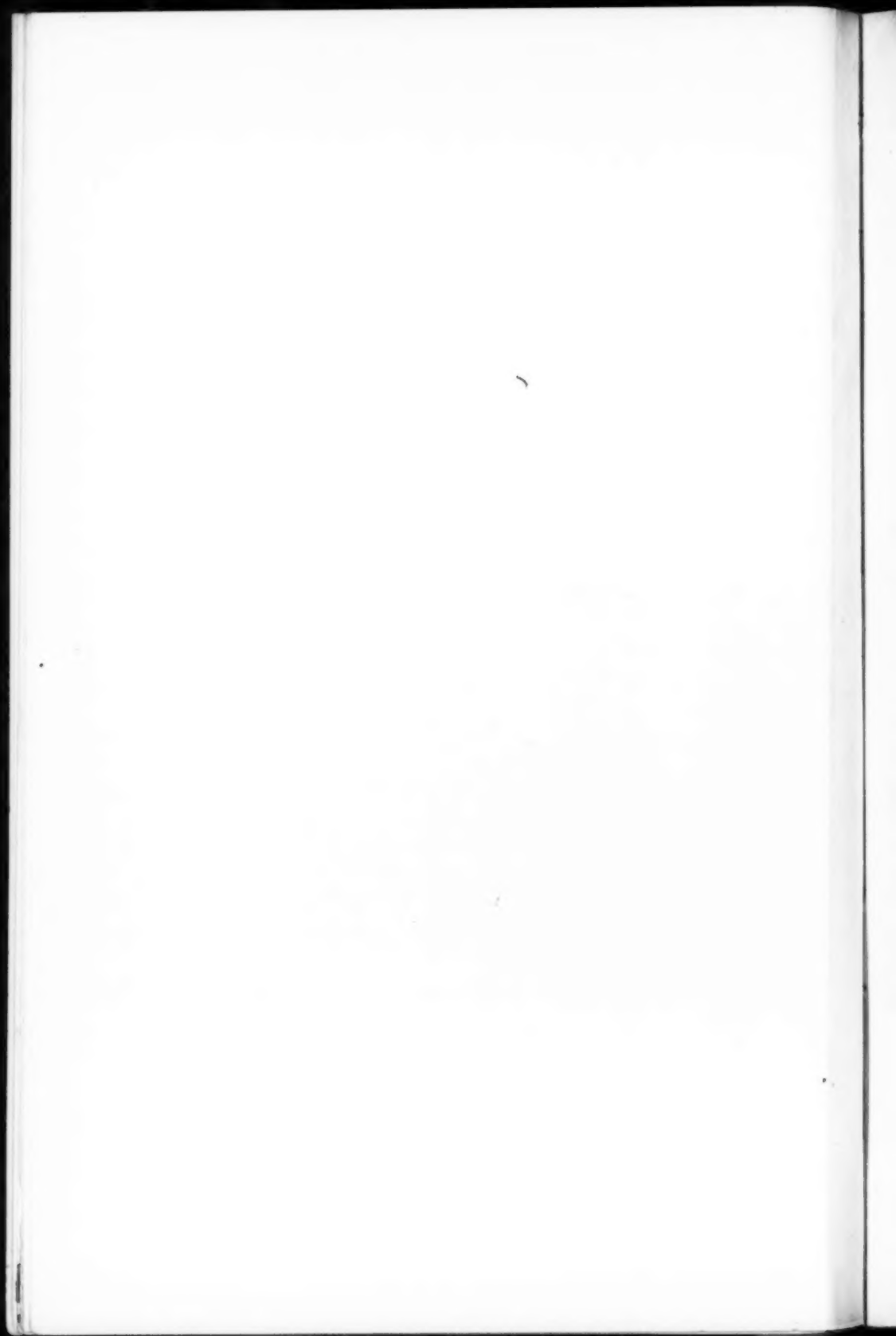
THE PENITENCE OF S. JEROME

By Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.





LOVE BOUND BY MAIDENS  
Florentine School (?). Salver of the XV Century.

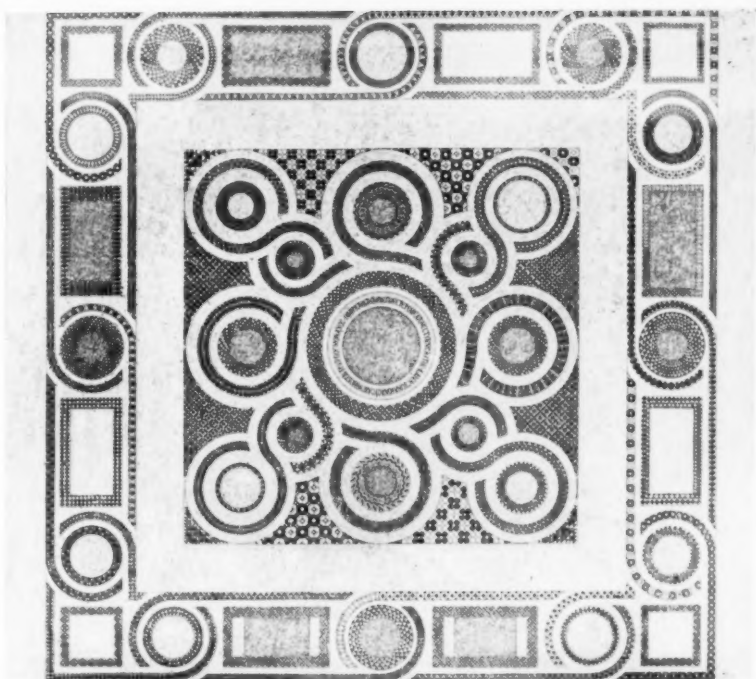




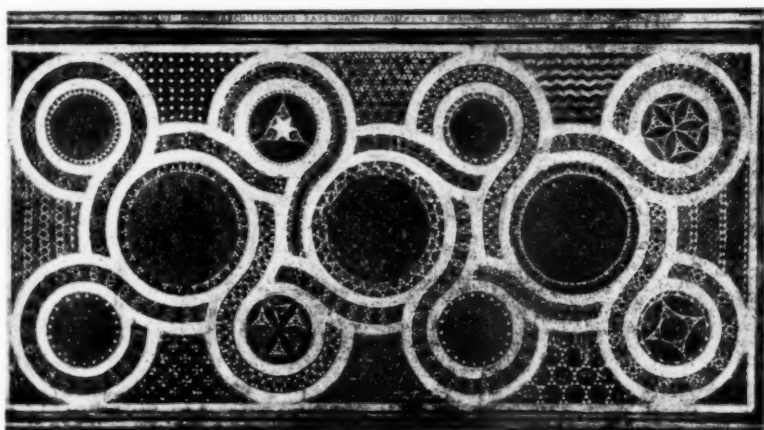
VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS, BY RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAJO.







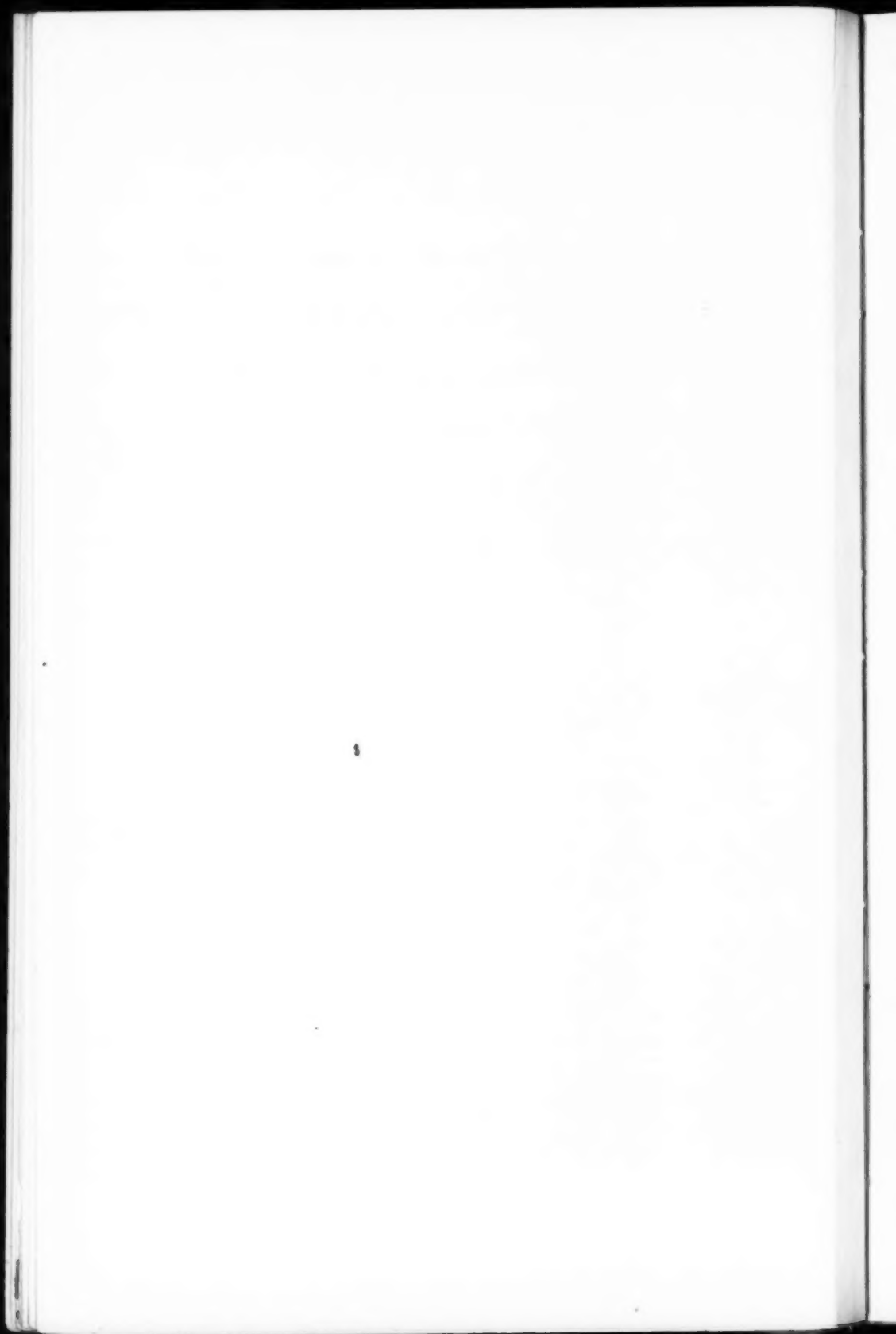
I.

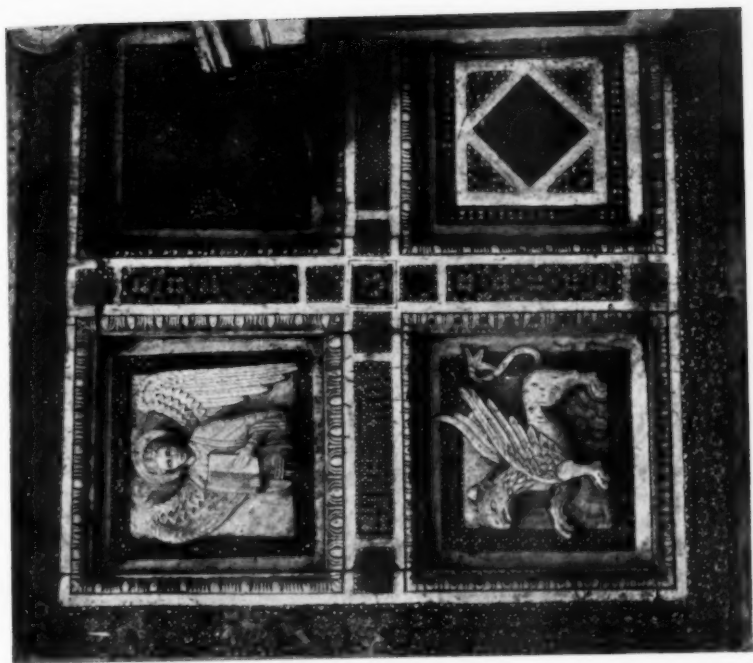


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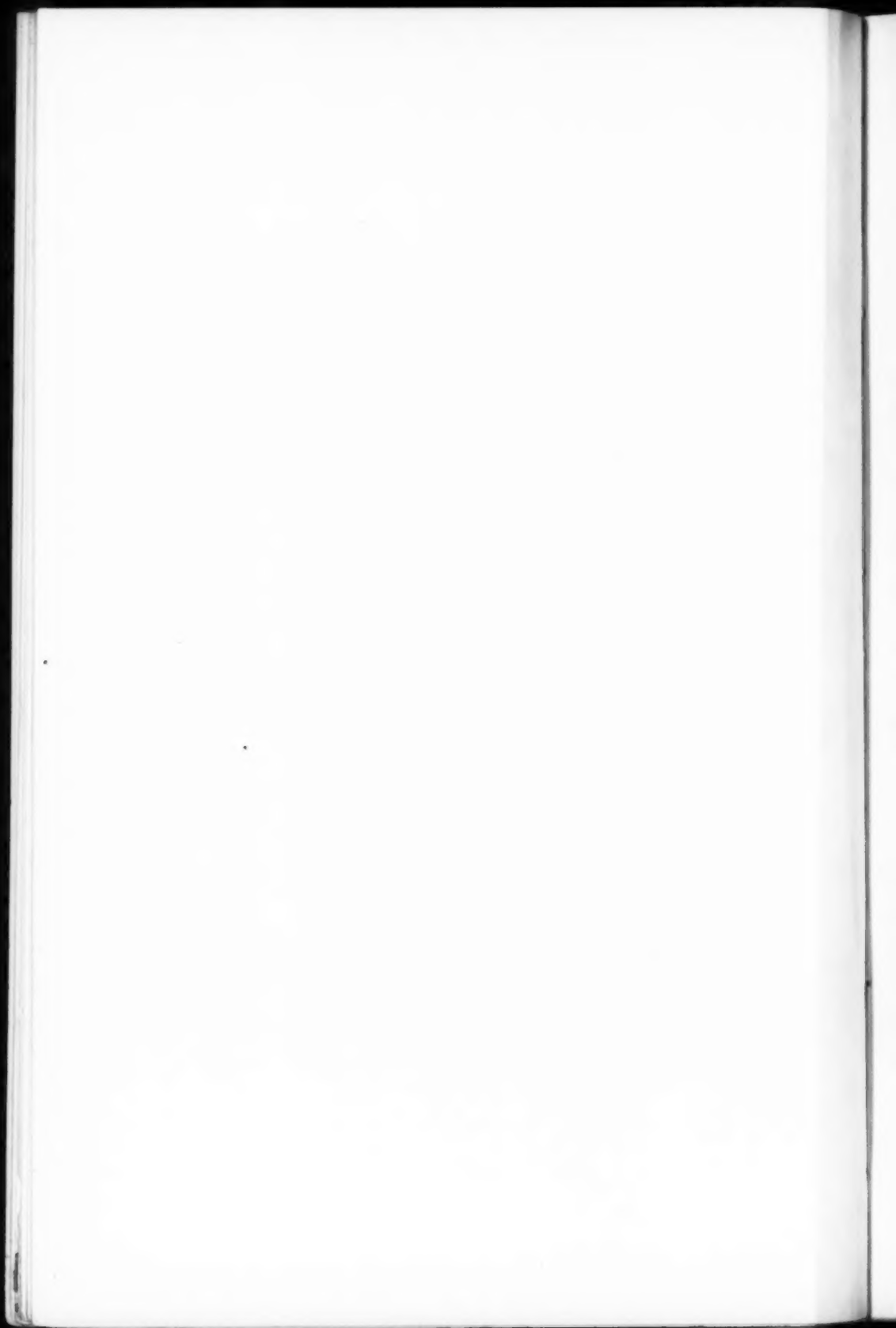
I. MOSAIC PAVEMENT AT IVIRON, MT. ATHOS.  
(c. 976 A. D.)

II. MOSAIC SLAB AT S. PRASSEDE, ROME.  
(XII Century.)





BYZANTINE MARBLE PARAPET INLAID WITH MOSAIC (c. 1000 A. D.) IN S. LUCIA, GAETA.

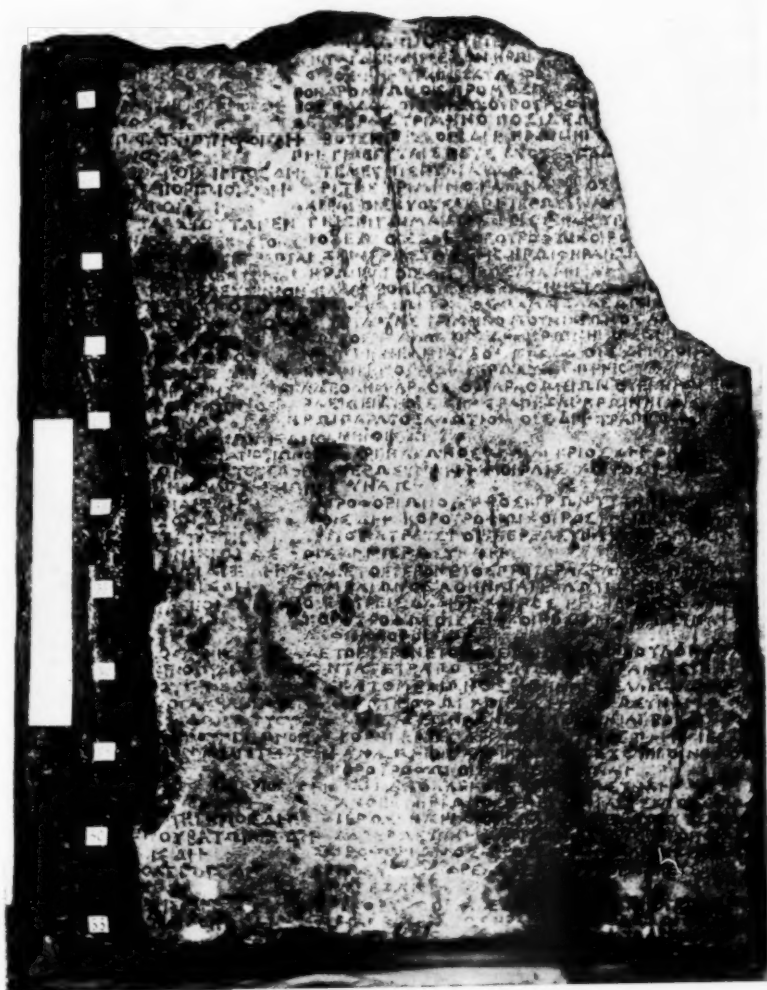




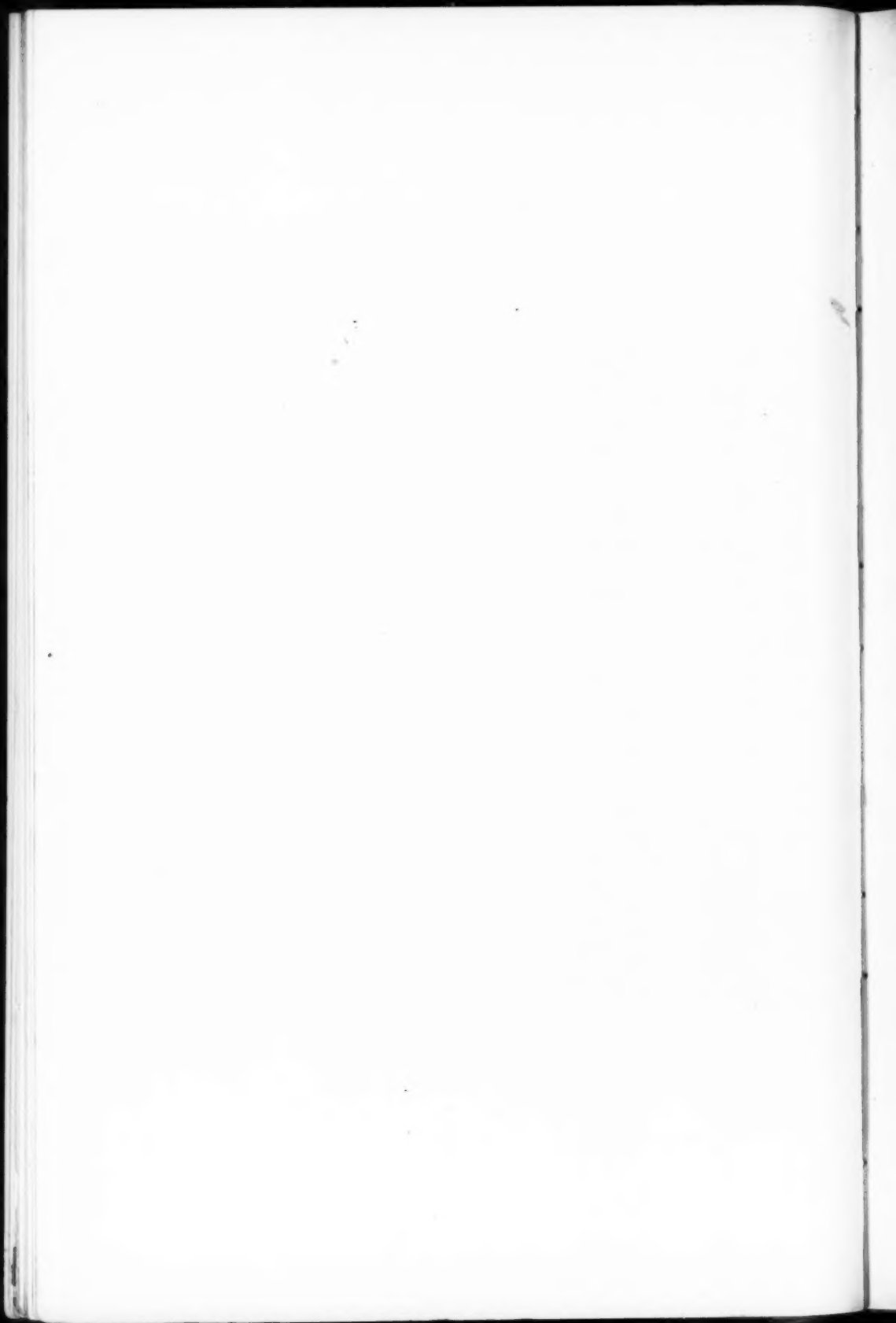
LARGER PULPIT AND PASCHAL CANDLESTICK IN CATHEDRAL, SALERNO.  
(XIII Century)

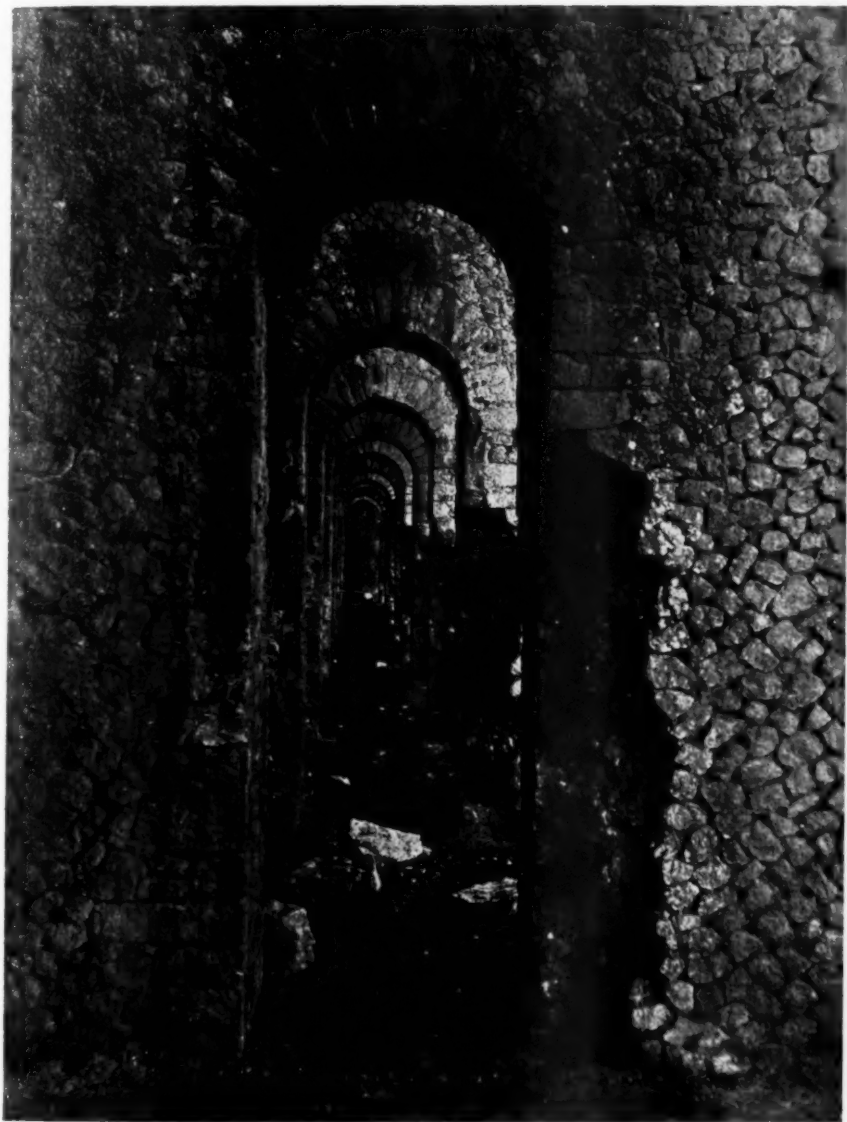






A SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR FROM THE ATTIC EPAKRIA.





FACE OF SUBSTRUCTURES, TEMPLE OF JUPITER AUXUR. TERRACINA.  
View through interior.